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THE
LETTERS OF DANTE

BY THE SAME AUTHOR

Specimens of Old French (Cent. IX to Cent. XV) (1892).

Historical French Grammar (1896).

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Letters of Horace Walpole (Supplement), 2 vols. (1918).

DANTIS ALAGHERII EPISTOLAE

THE LETTERS OF DANTE

Emended Text

With Introduction, Translation, Notes, and Indices
and Appendix on the Cursus

By

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FELLOW OF THE BRITISH ACADEMY

'Dietro alle poste delle care piante.'
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PREFACE

The present edition of *The Letters of Dante* is offered to students, as the outcome of my labours on the subject during the past six or seven years, pending the publication of the 'official' critical edition projected by the Società Dantesca Italiana, as part of the complete critical edition of Dante's works promised (in the days before the war) for the sixth centenary (September, 1921) of the poet's death.

The text of the *Epistolae* as here presented, except in the case of *Epist.* x (the letter to Can Grande),[1] is based upon my own collations of all the known MSS. (by means of photographic reproductions or of facsimiles), and of the printed editions. The results of these collations, together with diplomatic transcripts of the MS. texts, lists of proposed emendations in the texts as printed in the *Oxford Dante*, and texts of the *Epistolae* as provisionally emended, have been printed in a series of articles published in the *Modern Language Review* between the years 1912 and 1919. Most of these articles[2] have had the great advan-

[1] See introductory note to this letter, p. 160.

[2] The following is a list of these articles in the *Modern Language Review*: 1. 'The Vatican Text (*Cod. Vat.-Palat. Lat. 1729*) of the Letters of Dante' (vol. vii, pp. 1–39. Jan. 1912). 2. 'The San Pantaleo Text of Dante's Letters to the Emperor Henry VII, and

tage of the expert criticism in the pages of the *Bullettino della Società Dantesca Italiana*[1] of the editor, Professor E. G. Parodi, and latterly of Professor E. Pistelli,[2] from which I have derived much encouragement and no little positive assistance, both in the way of correction and of suggestion, assistance of which I have availed myself in the present work, and for which I take this opportunity of expressing my grateful acknowledgements.

to the Princes and Peoples of Italy' (vol. vii, pp. 208–24. April, 1912). 3. 'The Venetian Text (*Cod. Marc. Lat. xv. 115*) of Dante's Letter to the Emperor Henry VII' (vol. vii, pp. 433–40. Oct. 1912). 4. 'The San Pantaleo Italian Translation of Dante's Letter to the Emperor Henry VII' (vol. ix, pp. 332–43. July, 1914). 5. 'Dante's Letter to the Emperor Henry VII: Critical Text' (vol. x, pp. 64–72. Jan. 1915). 6. 'Dante's Letter to the Princes and Peoples of Italy: Critical Text' (vol. x, pp. 150–6. April, 1915). 7. 'The Laurentian Text (*Cod. Laurent. xxix. 8*) of Dante's Letter to a Friend in Florence: With Emended Text and Translation' (vol. xi, pp. 61–8. Jan. 1916). 8. 'The Laurentian Text (*Cod. Laurent. xxix. 8*) of Dante's Letter to a Pistojan Exile: With Emended Text and Translation' (vol. xii, pp. 37–44, 359–60. Jan., July, 1917). 9. 'Dante's Letter to the Florentines: Emended Text and Translation' (vol. xii, pp. 182–91. April, 1917). 10. 'The Battifolle Letters attributed to Dante: Emended Text and Translation' (vol. xii, pp. 302–9. July, 1917). 11. 'The Laurentian Text (*Cod. Laurent. xxix. 8*) of Dante's Letter to the Italian Cardinals: With Emended Text and Translation' (vol. xiii, pp. 208–27. April, 1918). 12. 'Dante's Letter to Can Grande (*Epist.* x): Emended Text' (vol. xiv, pp. 278–302. July, 1919).

[1] Articles by Professor Parodi were published in the *Bullettino* for Dec. 1912 (N.S. vol. xix, pp. 249–75) and Sept.–Dec. 1915 (N.S. vol. xxii, pp. 137–44); and by Professor Pistelli in the *Bullettino* for March–June–Sept. 1917 (N.S. vol. xxiv, pp. 58–61, 61–5).

[2] To Professor Pistelli has been entrusted, since the lamented death of Professor Francesco Novati, the task of preparing the critical edition of the *Epistolae* for the Società Dantesca Italiana.

It has not been thought necessary to reprint here the diplomatic transcripts of the MS. texts, nor the collations of the printed editions of the *Epistolae* in the above-mentioned articles in the *Modern Language Review*. The present text is provided with an *apparatus criticus* in which are registered the divergences of this text from the readings of the MSS., and from those of the text of the *Oxford Dante* (as representing the 'standard' printed text). Prefixed to each letter is a brief account of the MSS. in which it has been preserved, and of the printed editions and translations, together with discussions of the authenticity and date, and a summary of contents. Each letter is accompanied by notes, and by an English translation.[1]

In illustration of the historical allusions a Chronological Table, from the date of Dante's Priorate (1300) to that of his death (1321), is provided in the Appendices;[2] in which will also be found an article on 'Dante and the *Cursus*', containing an examination of Dante's Latin (prose) works in general, and of the *Epistolae* in particular, from the point of view of the *cursus*.[3]

[1] I have availed myself, with due acknowledgement, of the notes of previous editors. In my translation I have borrowed an occasional word or term from the renderings of Latham (in his *Translation of Dante's Eleven Letters*, Boston, U.S.A., 1891) and of Wicksteed (in *Translation of the Latin Works of Dante Alighieri*, London, 1904); and I have consulted on occasion the Italian version of Fraticelli (printed in his edition of the *Opere Minori di Dante Alighieri*, Firenze, 1857), and the German of Kannegiesser (in *Dante Alighieri's prosaische Schriften mit Ausnahme der Vita Nuova*, Leipzig, 1845). The Battifolle letters are now translated into English for the first time.

[2] See *Appendix* B.

[3] See *Appendix* C.

No attempt has been made in the present text of the *Epistolae* to reproduce the mediaeval Latin spelling, which is 'modernized' in conformity with the practice observed in the *Oxford Dante*. Mediaeval forms of words, on the other hand, are scrupulously preserved, such forms on occasion being essential to the maintenance of the *cursus*.[1]

A full index is provided, in four sections, namely, an *Index Nominum*, comprising the names of persons and places mentioned in the *Epistolae*; an *Index Verborum*, a list of words, or examples of words, not registered in the American Dante Society's Concordance to the Latin Works of Dante, which occur in the present texts; an *Index of Quotations*, consisting of references to passages quoted, directly or indirectly, by Dante, from classical and other authors, and from Scripture; and lastly, a *Bibliographical and General Index*, covering the Introduction (which comprises a history of the *Epistolae* from the fourteenth century to the present day), Notes, and Appendices.

It will be observed that, except in the case of the Battifolle letters (*Epist.* vii*, vii**, vii***), the numeration of the lines of the Latin texts of the *Epistolae* is double. That on the *left-hand side* of the page (to which references in the *Notes* and *Appendices* apply) corresponds with the

[1] For instance, in *Epist.* vi. 152, the *textus receptus* substitutes the classical form *susurrus* for the mediaeval *susurrium*, reading 'susurro blandientem', and thus violating the *cursus*, which is rectified by the restoration of the MS. reading, 'susúrrio blàndiéntem' (*velox*).

numbering of the lines in the *Oxford Dante*, which is now almost universally accepted as the 'standard' numeration for the purpose of reference.[1] The numeration (of every fifth line) on the *right-hand side* of the page (to which references in the *Indices* apply) is necessitated by the fact that in not a few cases the introduction or excision of matter in the course of the constitution of the present text has thrown out the Oxford numbering of the lines. The Battifolle letters, as not being included in the *Oxford Dante*, are numbered on the right-hand side only.

I had hoped to avail myself of the advice and assistance of my old friend and fellow Dantist, Dr. Edward Moore, in the preparation of this edition, which was undertaken in the first instance largely at his suggestion;[2] but this was not to be. I had, however, the satisfaction of receiving his approval of sundry of my proposed emendations in the Oxford text, which I had submitted to him for his consideration, shortly before his death.

In conclusion, I desire to express my acknowledgements for valuable suggestions and generous assistance to my friend, Dr. C. B. Heberden, Principal of Brasenose, as

[1] It is, for example, the numeration adopted in my own Dante Dictionaries, and (at Professor C. E. Norton's instance, as the result of an appeal from myself) in the American Dante Society's Concordances to the Italian Prose Works and Latin Works of Dante (printed at the Clarendon Press).

[2] In the last letter I received from him, just a week before he died, Dr. Moore once more expressed the hope that I would embody the result of my labours on the text in a new edition of the *Epistolae*.

well as to other members of the Oxford Dante Society, among whom should specially be mentioned Professor W. P. Ker of All Souls, the Dean of Christ Church (Dr. Strong), and the Rev. F. E. Brightman of Magdalen; also to the late Dr. Bannister, formerly of Rome, for his kind offices in procuring photographic reproductions of the Vatican and S. Pantaleo MSS. of the *Epistolae*, and to Mr. Horatio F. Brown, of Venice, for similar services with regard to the Marcian MS.

I am glad to take this opportunity of acknowledging my indebtedness to the Press readers, to whose vigilance is due the detection of sundry errors and misprints which had escaped my notice.

PAGET TOYNBEE.

Fiveways, Burnham, Bucks.
March 1920.

'*Omnium hominum quos ad amorem veritatis natura superior impressit, hoc maxime interesse videtur, ut quemadmodum de labore antiquorum ditati sunt, ita et ipsi posteris prolaborent, quatenus ab eis posteritas habeat quo ditetur.*'

(Dantis *De Monarchia*, i. 1, 1–7.)

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INTRODUCTION

THE HISTORY OF THE LETTERS OF DANTE FROM THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY TO THE PRESENT DAY[1]

That Dante was the author of numerous letters, some of which were in the nature of political manifestoes, while others were more or less concerned with his own personal interests, we know from various sources.

In the first place we have Dante's own testimony in the *Vita Nuova*, where he refers (§ 31) to a letter which he says he addressed to the principal personages of the city of Florence after the death of Beatrice, which took place on the evening of June 8, 1290.[2] He quotes the beginning of this letter ('Quomodo sedet sola civitas!'),[3] but excuses himself for not transcribing more than the opening words on the ground that the letter was in Latin, and it was not his intention to include in the *Vita Nuova* anything that was not written in the vulgar tongue.[4]

[1] This *Introduction*, which was originally read as a paper before the Oxford Dante Society, is reprinted, with additions and corrections, from the *Thirty-Sixth Annual Report* (1917) *of the Cambridge* (*U.S.A.*) *Dante Society*, pp. 8–30.

[2] *Vita Nuova*, § 30, ll. 1–6; see my *Dante Studies and Researches*, pp. 61–4.

[3] This letter, of which no other trace has been preserved, is not to be confounded, as it has been by some, with another letter of Dante, that addressed to the Italian Cardinals (*Epist.* viii), which begins with the same quotation from *Lamentations* (i. 1).

[4] 'Poichè la gentilissima donna fu partita da questo secolo, rimase tutta la cittade quasi vedova, dispogliata di ogni dignitade,

The earliest independent testimony is that furnished by two of Dante's contemporaries, namely the astrologer-poet Francesco degli Stabili, better known as Cecco d'Ascoli, who was burned as a free-thinker at Florence six years after Dante's death; and the chronicler Giovanni Villani, who was Dante's neighbour in Florence, and, as his nephew Filippo records, was a personal friend of the poet ('Patruus meus Johannes Villani hystoricus . . . Danti fuit amicus et sotius').[1] Cecco d'Ascoli in the third book of his encyclopaedic poem *L'Acerba* treats of the origin of nobility, which he says had already been treated of by the Florentine poet in his polished verse:

Fu già trattato con le dolci rime
E definito il nobile valore
Dal Fiorentino con l' acute lime;

the reference, of course, being to the *canzone* 'Le dolci rime d' amor, ch' io solia' prefixed to the fourth book of the *Convivio*. Cecco controverts Dante's theory, and maintains that nobility is due to the influence of one of the heavens, namely that of Mercury, upon the individual possessed of ancient blood; 'but hereupon,' he interjects, 'Dante wrote to me to express a doubt, saying: "Two sons are born at a birth, and the elder turns out more

ond' io, ancora lagrimando in questa desolata cittade, scrissi a' principi della terra alquanto della sua condizione, pigliando quello cominciamento di Geremia profeta: *Quomodo sedet sola civitas!* . . . E se alcuno volesse me riprendere di ciò, che non scrivo qui le parole che seguitano a quelle allegate, scusomene, perocchè lo intendimento mio non fu da principio di scrivere altro che per volgare: onde, conciossiacosachè le parole, che seguitano a quelle che sono allegate, sieno tutte latine, sarebbe fuori del mio intendimento se io le scrivessi' (§ 31, ll. 1–21).

[1] See § 22 of Filippo Villani's *Comento al primo canto dell' Inferno* (ed. G. Cugnoni, p. 79).

noble than the other, or vice versa, as I have known before now. I am returning to Ravenna and shall not depart thence again. Tell me, you of Ascoli, what have you to say to this?" And I wrote back to Dante . . .'

(Ma qui me scrisse dubitando Dante:
Son doi figlioli nati in uno parto,
E più gentil si mostra quel davante,
Et ciò converso, come già vedi.
Torno a Ravenna, e de li non mi parto.
Dime, Esculano, quel che tu credi.
Rescrissi a Dante: Intendi tu che leggi . . .)

and he then proceeds to develop his argument.

This correspondence with Cecco d'Ascoli must have taken place during the last three or four years of Dante's life, while he was the guest of Guido Novello da Polenta at Ravenna, that is, probably, not earlier than 1317.

Villani's testimony is contained in the ninth book of his *Cronica*, a chapter of which, under the year 1321, the year of Dante's death, is devoted to a brief biographical account of his distinguished fellow-citizen (ix. 136: 'Chi fu il poeta Dante Alighieri di Firenze'). In this account, in which he gives an enumeration of Dante's most important writings, after mentioning the *Vita Nuova* and the *canzoni*, Villani says:

This Dante, when he was in exile, wrote, among others, three noble letters, one of which he sent to the government of Florence, complaining of his undeserved exile; the second he sent to the Emperor Henry when he was besieging Brescia,[1] reproaching him for his delay, after the manner of the prophets of old; and the third he sent to the Italian Cardinals at the time of the vacancy of the Holy See after the death of Pope Clement, urging them to agree together in electing an Italian Pope.

[1] Actually Cremona.

These letters were written in Latin, in a lofty style, fortified with admirable precepts and authorities, and were greatly commended by men of wisdom and discernment.[1]

Of the three letters specifically mentioned by Villani, two have been preserved; namely, that to the Emperor Henry (*Epist.* vii) and that to the Italian Cardinals (*Epist.* viii). The third, that to the Florentine Government, which is perhaps identical with one of those mentioned by a subsequent authority, Leonardo Bruni,[2] has not come down to us.

Valuable evidence, direct and indirect, is supplied in the next generation by Boccaccio, who, in his *Vita di Dante*, written probably between 1357 and 1362,[3] says that the poet 'wrote many prose epistles in Latin, of which a number are still in existence';[4] and who certainly had first-hand knowledge of at least six of the letters now extant. These are the letter to the Emperor Henry VII (*Epist.* vii) and that to a friend in Florence (*Epist.* ix), of which use is made in chapters five and twelve of the *Vita di Dante*;[5] the letter to Can Grande (*Epist.* x), which is largely utilized in the first and fifth

[1] 'Quando fu in esilio . . . in tra l' altre fece tre nobili pistole; l' una mandò al reggimento di Firenze dogliendosi del suo esilio sanza colpa; l' altra mandò allo 'mperadore Arrigo quand' era all' assedio di Brescia, riprendendolo della sua stanza, quasi profetizzando; la terza a' cardinali italiani, quand' era la vacazione dopo la morte di papa Clemente, acciocchè s' accordassono a eleggere papa italiano; tutte in latino con alto dettato, e con eccellenti sentenzie e autoritadi, le quali furono molto commendate da' savi intenditori.'

[2] See below, p. xxiii.

[3] See Oskar Hecker, *Boccaccio-Funde*, p. 154.

[4] 'Fece ancora questo valoroso poeta molte epistole prosaiche in latino, delle quali ancora appariscono assai' (§ 16, ed. Macrì-Leone, p. 74).

[5] §§ 5, 12, ed. Macrì-Leone, pp. 29, 59.

Lezioni of the *Comento sopra la Commedia*; the letter to Moroello Malaspina (*Epist.* iv (iii)), portions of which are incorporated in the letter *Ignoto Militi* (that beginning 'Mavortis miles extrenue');[1] and the letters to the Pistojan exile, commonly identified with Cino da Pistoja (*Epist.* iii (iv)), and to the Italian Cardinals (*Epist.* viii), which, together with the letter to the Florentine friend already mentioned, have been preserved in a MS., the only known MS. containing them, written by Boccaccio's own hand.[2]

The letter to Can Grande, it may be observed, was known in one form or another to several of the fourteenth-century commentators on the *Commedia* besides Boccaccio, namely to Guido da Pisa (*c.* 1324), Jacopo della Lana (*c.* 1326), the author of the *Ottimo Comento* (*c.* 1334), Pietro di Dante (1340–1), Francesco da Buti (1385–95), and Filippo Villani (1391);[3] but of these, Filippo Villani, who in his inaugural lecture delivered in 1391, as occupant of the Dante chair at Florence, refers to the letter as 'quoddam introductorium [nostri poetae] super cantu primo Paradisi ad dominum Canem de la Scala destinatum',[4] is the only one who mentions that it was addressed to Can Grande.

[1] The text of Boccaccio's letter is printed in full, with the parallel passages from Dante's letter, by G. Vandelli, in *Bullettino della Società Dantesca Italiana*, N.S. vii. 64–7.

[2] This is the Laurentian MS. (xxix. 8), which has been shown by Henri Hauvette to be written, so far as the portions relating to Dante are concerned, in Boccaccio's autograph (see Hauvette's *Notes sur des manuscrits autographes de Boccace à la Bibliothèque Laurentienne*, pp. 22 ff.).

[3] See Moore, *Studies in Dante*, iii, pp. 345 ff.; and Boffito, *L'Epistola di Dante Alighieri a Cangrande della Scala*, pp. 1–2, and *Appendice*.

[4] See §§ 3 and 9 of his *Comento* (ed. Cugnoni, pp. 28, 33).

Of special importance is the testimony of the next witness, Leonardo Bruni of Arezzo (otherwise known as Leonardo Aretino), the author of the most valuable, from the critical point of view, of the early lives of Dante. Bruni was not only the most distinguished humanist of his day, but as secretary to several Popes [1] and Chancellor of the Florentine Republic, and as historian of the Republic, he was experienced in the handling of State papers and in the appraisement of documentary evidence, important qualifications possessed in an equal degree by no other of the early biographers of Dante. He sets out to write as a serious historian, with the express purpose of supplying the practical deficiencies of Boccaccio's biography, which he holds to be overburdened with details of lovers' sighs and tears, and such like trivialities, to the neglect of the weightier matters of life, as though, he says, man were born into this world for no other purpose than to figure in a tale of the *Decameron*.[2] Bruni's state-

[1] As secretary to Pope John XXIII, Bruni was in attendance at the Council of Constance, where, as Dr. Moore points out (*Dante and his early Biographers*, p. 65), he would have met Giovanni da Serravalle, the translator and commentator of the *Divina Commedia*, who is responsible for the interesting but unhappily not otherwise authenticated statement, that Dante came to England and was a student at Oxford—a matter to which Bruni makes no reference.

[2] 'Mi parve che il nostro Boccaccio, dolcissimo e suavissimo uomo, così scrivesse la vita e i costumi di tanto sublime poeta, come se a scrivere avesse il Filocolo, o il Filostrato, o la Fiammetta; perocchè tutta d' amore, e di sospiri, e di cocenti lagrime è piena; come se l' uomo nascesse in questo mondo solamente per ritrovarsi in quelle dieci giornate amorose, nelle quali da donne innamorate e da giovani leggiadri raccontate furono le cento Novelle; e tanto s' infiamma in queste parti d' amore, che le gravi e sustanzievoli parti della vita di Dante lascia in dietro, e trapassa con silenzio, ricordando le cose leggieri, e tacendo le gravi. Io dunque mi posi in cuore per mio spasso scriver di nuovo la vita di Dante, con

ments, therefore, as to matters of fact, of which he claims to have had personal cognizance, are entitled to the respect due to a writer of established reputation and authority. Among such statements in his *Vita di Dante*, which was written in 1436, by way of diversion, after the completion of his translation of the *Poetics* of Aristotle, and while he was still engaged upon the last books of his history of Florence, are several of the highest interest relating to the letters of Dante.

Bruni mentions that he had himself seen several letters written by Dante's own hand, and he describes the handwriting—the only description that has come down to us—as being 'fine and slender and very accurate': 'Di sua mano egregiamente disegnava. Fu ancora scrittore perfetto, ed era la lettera sua magra, e lunga, e molto corretta, secondo io ho veduto in alcune epistole di sua propria mano scritte'—a statement which recurs in another work of his, the *Dialogus ad Petrum Histrum*, where, speaking of Dante, he says: 'legi nuper quasdam eius litteras quas ille videbatur peraccurate scripsisse: erant enim propria manu atque eius sigillo obsignatae'. 'Scrisse molte epistole in prosa,' he says in his list of the poet's works in the *Vita*, and in the course of the work he specifically mentions or refers to at least half a dozen, giving in the case of one of them a long quotation in Dante's own words,[1] and in the case of another the opening sentence.

The first letter mentioned by Bruni is in connexion

maggior notizia delle cose stimabili: nè questo faccio per derogare al Boccaccio; ma perchè lo scriver mio sia quasi un supplimento allo scriver di lui.'

[1] Bruni gives the quotation in Italian, with the remark 'queste sono le parole sue'; but the original, like the rest of Dante's letters with which we are acquainted, was doubtless written in Latin.

with the battle of Campaldino, the decisive victory of the Florentine Guelfs over the Ghibellines of Arezzo on June 11, 1289, at which Dante, he says, was present as a combatant, as he himself relates in a letter in which he gives an account of the battle, accompanied by a plan of the operations.[1] The next has reference to Dante's election to the Priorate, 'from which', he states, 'sprang Dante's exile from Florence and all the adverse fortunes of his life, as he himself writes in one of his letters, the words of which are as follows:

All my woes and all my misfortunes had their origin and commencement with my unlucky election to the Priorate; of which Priorate, although I was not worthy in respect of worldly wisdom, yet in respect of loyalty and of years I was not unworthy of it; inasmuch as ten years had passed since the battle of Campaldino, where the Ghibelline party was almost entirely broken and brought to an end; on which occasion I was present, no novice in arms, and was in great fear, and afterwards greatly elated, by reason of the varying fortunes of that battle.

These are his words.'[2]

[1] 'Questa battaglia racconta Dante in una sua epistola, e dice esservi stato a combattere, e disegna la forma della battaglia.'

[2] 'Da questo priorato nacque la cacciata sua, e tutte le cose avverse, che egli ebbe nella vita, secondo lui medesimo scrive in una sua epistola, della quale le parole son queste: "Tutti li mali, e tutti l' inconvenienti miei dalli infausti comizi del mio priorato ebbero cagione e principio; del quale priorato benchè per prudenza io non fussi degno, nientedimeno per fede, e per età, non ne era indegno, perocchè dieci anni erano già passati dopo la battaglia di Campaldino, nella quale la parte Ghibellina fu quasi al tutto morta e disfatta, dove mi trovai non fanciullo nell' armi, e dove ebbi temenza molta, e nella fine grandissima allegrezza, per li vari casi di quella battaglia." Queste sono le parole sue.'

Bruni mentions this letter also in his account of the battle of

In another letter recorded by Bruni Dante defends himself from a charge of favouritism during his Priorate in recalling the exiled Bianchi from Sarzana, while the Neri remained in banishment at Castello della Pieve. To this charge, says Bruni, Dante replied that when the exiles were recalled from Sarzana he was no longer in office, and consequently could not be held responsible; and that moreover this recall was due to the illness and death of Guido Cavalcanti, who was attacked by malaria at Sarzana, and succumbed not long after.[1] Bruni then

Campaldino in his *Historiae Florentinae*: 'Dantes Alagherii poeta in epistola quadam scribit se in hoc praelio iuvenem fuisse in armis, et ab initio quidem pugnae, hostem longe superiorem fuisse, adeo ut a Florentinis multum admodum timeretur. Ad extremum autem victoriam partam esse, tantamque inimicorum stragem in eo praelio factam, ut pene eorum nomen ad internecionem deleretur' (Lib. IV, p. 63, ed. Argentorati, MDCX).

[1] 'Essendo adunque la città in armi e in travagli, i priori per consiglio di Dante provvidero di fortificarsi della moltitudine del popolo; e quando furono fortificati, ne mandarono a' confini gli uomini principali delle due sette, i quali furono questi, messer Corso Donati, messer Geri Spini, messer Giacchinotto de' Pazzi, messer Rosso della Tosa, e altri con loro. Tutti questi erano per la parte nera, e furono mandati a' confini al Castello della Pieve in quel di Perugia. Dalla parte de' Bianchi furon mandati a' confini a Serezzana messer Gentile, e messer Torrigiano de' Cerchi, Guido Cavalcanti, Baschiera della Tosa, Baldinaccio Adimari, Naldo di messer Lottino Gherardini, ed altri. Questo diede gravezza assai a Dante, e contuttochè lui si scusi, come uomo senza parte, nientedimanco fu riputato, che pendesse in parte bianca . . .; e accrebbe l' invidia, perchè quella parte di cittadini, che fu confinata a Serezzana, subito ritornò a Firenze, e l' altra, ch' era confinata a Castello della Pieve, si rimase di fuori. A questo risponde Dante, che, quando quelli di Serezzana furono rivocati, esso era fuori dell' uficio del priorato, e che a lui non si debba imputare; più dice, che la ritornata loro fu per l' infermità e morte di Guido Cavalcanti, il quale ammalò a Serezzana per l' aere cattiva, e poco appresso

tells us that after his own exile Dante, in order to obtain his recall, wrote many letters to individual members of the Florentine Government, as well as to the people of Florence ('scrisse più volte non solamente a' particulari cittadini del reggimento, ma ancora al popolo'), among the rest one of some length, beginning 'Populo mee, quid feci tibi?'—a sentence which in a till recently unrecorded version of Bruni's *Vita*[1] is amplified by the completion of the quotation from *Micah* vi. 3, into 'Populo mee, quid feci tibi? aut in quo molestatus [for *molestus*] fui responde mihi'. When, however, continues Bruni, the Emperor Henry VII crossed the Alps, Dante changed his tone, and began to write in abusive terms to the Florentines, calling them 'scellerati e cattivi', and threatening them with the vengeance of the Emperor, against whose might all resistance would be vain. But when the Emperor, whose advance against Florence had been urged by Dante (an obvious allusion to Dante's letter to the Emperor), actually made his appearance under its walls, Dante in a further letter expressed his intention on patriotic grounds of not personally assisting at the siege of his native city.[2] Finally Bruni refers to a letter (which may or may not be identical with the

morì.' Dante's term of office expired on August 15, 1300; Guido Cavalcanti was buried at Florence on August 29; so that his death must have taken place within a few days of his return from exile.

[1] See my article on 'An Unrecorded Seventeenth Century Version of the *Vita di Dante* of Leonardo Bruni', in *Twenty-Ninth Annual Report* (1912) *of the Cambridge* (*U.S.A.*) *Dante Society*.

[2] Dante makes no such personal reference in the letters to Henry VII and to the Florentines which have come down to us; Bruni must therefore be referring to another letter, addressed either to the Emperor or to the Florentines.

letter 'Popule mee', already mentioned) in which Dante gives an inventory of his personal possessions in lands and household goods.[1]

Of the letters specified or referred to by Bruni in his *Vita* two only are now extant, namely the abusive letter to the Florentines (*Epist.* vi), and that to the Emperor Henry (*Epist.* vii). The letter 'Popule mee' may perhaps be identified with the first of those mentioned by Villani [2] —that written by Dante to complain of his undeserved exile from Florence. For the remainder Bruni is our sole authority.

Giannozzo Manetti, who wrote a life of Dante not many years after Bruni, of whose *Vita* he largely availed him-

[1] 'Cercando con buone opere e con buoni portamenti riacquistare la grazia di poter tornare in Firenze per ispontanea rivocazione di chi reggeva la terra . . . scrisse più volte non solamente a' particulari cittadini del reggimento, ma ancora al popolo; e intra l' altre un' epistola assai lunga, che incomincia, *Popule mee, quid feci tibi?* Essendo in questa speranza di ritornare per via di perdono, sopravvenne l' elezione d' Arrigo di Luzinborgo Imperadore; per la cui elezione prima, e poi la passata sua, essendo tutta Italia sollevata in speranza di grandissime novità, Dante non potè tenere il proposito suo dell' aspettare grazia, ma levatosi coll' animo altiero cominciò a dir male di quelli che reggevano la terra, appellandoli scellerati e cattivi, e minacciando loro la debita vendetta per la potenza dell' Imperadore, contro la quale diceva esser manifesto che essi non avrebbon potuto avere scampo alcuno. Pure il tenne tanto la riverenza della patria, venendo l' Imperadore contro a Firenze, e ponendosi a campo presso alla porta, non vi volle essere, secondo lui scrive, contuttochè confortatore fusse stato di sua venuta. . . .

'Case in Firenze ebbe assai decenti . . . possessioni in Camerata, e nella Piacentina, e in Piano di Ripoli: suppellettile abbondante e preziosa, secondo lui scrive.'

[2] See above, p. xvi. It will be noted that Bruni makes no reference to the letter to the Italian Cardinals (*Epist.* viii) mentioned by Villani.

self, has no new information to give about the letters in general. In speaking of Dante's writings he merely remarks: 'In Latino sermone multas epistolas scripsit.' He does specify one particular letter, however, elsewhere, and incidentally in connexion with it he uses a significant phrase which makes it appear that he must himself have been acquainted with the letter in question, namely, that written by Dante to the Florentines at the time of the advent of Henry VII into Italy (*Epist.* vi). Bruni, as we have seen, states that in this letter Dante wrote abusively to the Florentines, calling them knaves and scoundrels. Manetti, who when he follows Bruni usually follows him so closely as almost to echo his words, in this instance adds a detail which he could not have derived from Bruni's *Vita*. When the Emperor, he says, sat down before Florence to besiege it, the Florentine exiles flocked to his camp from all sides, and Dante, full of hope and no longer able to contain himself, indited an insulting letter 'to the Florentines within the city, as he himself calls them'—'Proinde Dantes quoque se ulterius continere non potuit, quin spe plenus epistolam quandam *ad Florentinos, ut ipse vocat, intrinsecos* contumeliosam sane scriberet, in qua eos acerbissime insectatur; quum antehac de ipsis honorificentissime loqui solitus esset'. This letter, as has already been mentioned, happens to be one of those which have come down to us. Manetti's reference to the title of it, which runs: 'Dantes Alagherii Florentinus et exul immeritus scelestissimis *Florentinis intrinsecis*', is unmistakable, and conveys the impression that he had a personal knowledge of at least this one of Dante's letters, though, unlike Bruni, he does not inform us of the fact. That this was actually the case has recently been demonstrated by Zenatti in his *Dante*

e Firenze,[1] where he shows that Manetti was at one time

[1] *Dante e Firenze: Prose Antiche con note illustrative ed appendici*, di Oddone Zenatti, pp. 370–5 note, 414–19. In this work (pp. 418–19) Zenatti contends that Manetti's unmistakable reference to the title of Dante's letter to the Florentines is proof positive that he had actually first-hand knowledge of the letter at the time when he was writing his *Vita Dantis*; and he maintains, further, that Bruni's acquaintance with the letter cannot be regarded as certain on account of the vagueness of his reference: 'Dalle vaghe parole dell' Aretino, malgrado dello *scellerati*, non è dato di trarre la certezza, ch' egli abbia propriamente avuto sott' occhio anche l' epistola ai Fiorentini; con le sue ora citate, il Manetti ci dà invece la prova più sicura di aver letta quell' epistola, di averne con precisione conosciuto il titolo (*Scelestissimis*) *florentinis intrinsecis*.' Torraca, in a review of Zenatti's volume in the *Bullettino della Società Dantesca Italiana* (N.S. x. 121 ff.), pointed out that if Manetti read Dante's letter, at any rate he did not read the date of it (namely, March 31, 1311), for he states that it was written at the time of the siege of Florence by the Emperor, whereas, as a matter of fact, the siege was not begun until the autumn of the following year. Manetti's authority, however, as I have shown in the *Modern Language Review* (xiv. 111–12), was not the letter itself, but the following passage in Bruni's *Historiae Florentinae*: 'Herricus . . . superatis Alpibus, in citeriorem Galliam descendisse nunciabatur, et quidquid ubique fuerat exulum Florentinorum, ad illum concurrisse, adeo spe firma victoriae, ut iam inde bona inimicorum inter se partirentur. Extat Dantis poetae epistola amarissimis referta contumeliis, quam ipse hac inani fiducia exultans, contra Florentinos, ut ipse vocat, intrinsecos scripsit. Et quos ante id tempus honorificentissimis compellare solebat verbis, tunc huius spe supra modum elatus, acerbissime insectari non dubitat' (Lib. IV, p. 88, ed. Argentorati, MDCX). No one who compares the phraseology of this passage with that of the quotation from Manetti's *Vita Dantis* given above can have much doubt that this was the source from which Manetti's account of the letter was derived. This passage also proves, what Zenatti doubted, that, whether or no Manetti had a first-hand acquaintance with the letter, Bruni certainly had. Manetti's acquisition of the MS. containing the letter must have been subsequent to the compilation of his *Vita Dantis*, otherwise he would surely have utilized it for the purposes of his work.

in possession of a MS. which contained no less than nine letters written by, or attributed to, Dante, this MS. being the now famous Vatican MS. (*Cod. Vat.-Palat. Lat. 1729*), of which we shall have more to say later.[1]

The next piece of evidence is supplied, not by a biographer of Dante, but by a fifteenth-century historian, namely Flavio Biondo of Forlì, who in his *Historiarum ab inclinato Romano Imperio Decades*, which was completed in or about the year 1440, states that he had seen at Forlì letters written by Pellegrino Calvi, secretary of Scarpetta degli Ordelaffi, the Ghibelline leader in Forlì, which had been dictated by Dante, and in which Dante's name frequently occurs—'Peregrini Calvi foroliviensis, Scarpettae epistolarum magistri, extantes literae, crebram Dantis mentionem habentes, a quo dictabantur';[2] and in another passage he makes special mention of a letter written by Dante in his own name and in that of the exiled Bianchi to Can Grande della Scala at the time of the advent of the Emperor Henry VII into Italy, in which Dante gave an account of the insolent reply returned by the Florentines to the ambassadors of the Emperor—a letter of which, as Biondo tells us, a copy was taken by Pellegrino Calvi—'Dantes Aldegerius, Forolivii tunc agens, in epistola ad Canem Grandem Scaligerum veronensem, partis Albae extorrum et suo nomine data, quam Peregrinus Calvus scriptam reliquit, talia dicit de responsione a Florentinis urbem tenentibus tunc facta'.[3]

Of these letters, which must be assigned to the period of Dante's presumed residence at Forlì in 1303 and 1310,

[1] See below, pp. xlvii ff.

[2] See *Bullettino della Società Dantesca Italiana*, No. 8 (1892), p. 22.

[3] See *Bullettino della Società Dantesca Italiana*, No. 8 (1892), p. 26.

no trace has been preserved. Carlo Troya, who drew attention to these statements of Flavio Biondo with regard to Dante in his *Veltro Allegorico di Dante* (Florence, 1826)[1] and *Veltro Allegorico de' Ghibellini* (Naples, 1856),[2] records in the latter work that, as the result of exhaustive inquiries as to the fate of the documents mentioned by Biondo, he learned that the Ordelaffi papers had been entrusted to the charge of a nun of the Ordelaffi family for safe custody during a period of civil commotion, and that she, in an evil hour, apparently through fear of being compromised if they were found in her possession, had consigned the whole to the flames.[3]

With the next biographer of Dante, Giovanni Mario Filelfo, the last of the early biographers who has any addition to make to the information supplied by his predecessors, the number of Dante's letters increases in a most remarkable manner. Filelfo, who was the son of the famous humanist Francesco Filelfo, himself a student and expounder of Dante, wrote his life of Dante, which is in Latin, in or about the year 1467, as appears from a letter accompanying a copy of the work written from Verona in December of that year by Pietro Alighieri, Dante's great-grandson, to Pietro de' Medici and Tommaso Soderini in Florence, in which it is referred to as having been recently completed—'munusculum hoc nuper mihi de vĭta proavi mei Dantis ab eloquentissimo oratore, et laurea insignito Mario Philelfo editum, Magnificentiis Vestris mittere decrevi'.

In this work, which it may be observed in passing has a peculiar interest for students of Dante, in that here for the first time we meet with the theory that Dante's

[1] Pp. 60, 125. [2] Pp. 205–6.

[3] *Veltro Allegorico de' Ghibellini*, p. 207.

Beatrice was a mythical, not a real personage—about as real as Pandora, is the author's way of putting it—Filelfo makes very free use of the *Vita* of Leonardo Bruni. He does not, however, confine himself to merely repeating what Bruni says, but embellishes his statements with characteristic additions of his own. Thus, in his account of Dante's letter about the battle of Campaldino, he makes Dante claim not only to have been present, but to have taken a leading part in the engagement: 'Hanc quidem et pugnam et victoriam recitat ipse Dantes sua quadam epistola, declaratque se iisce interfuisse *ac praefuisse* rebus, exprimitque omnem eius proelii ordinem.' Again, where Bruni simply mentions that Dante, in order to obtain his recall from exile, wrote to individual members of the Government as well as to the people of Florence, Filelfo states that he wrote letters to several particular citizens whom he believed to be more upright than the rest, and also sundry very lengthy letters to the Florentine people: 'Patriae gratiam assidue cupiens, plures epistolas nedum ad nonnullos misit cives, *quos intelligeret virtuti dedicatiores*, sed ad populum longiusculas admodum dedit litteras.' Bruni's succinct description of Dante's handwriting, which has been quoted above, is amplified by Filelfo into a detailed statement as to Dante's delight in the exercise of the pen, and, so far as his ignorance of Greek would allow, the perfect accuracy of his spelling:

Delectabatur Dantes scribendi forma, et vetustate litterarum, scribebatque litteras modernas, tamen politissimas, sed longiores subtilioresque, ut se illa manu scriptas fatetur habuisse Leonardus Aretinus, qui fuit earum diligens inquisitor, sed orthographiam tenebat ad unguem, quantum poterat, sine litterarum graecarum cognitione, conficere.

The 'many letters' with which Bruni credits Dante, in Filelfo's account become 'letters innumerable', among which he proceeds to specify three in particular, now heard of for the first time, which he asserts were addressed by Dante respectively to the King of Hungary, to Pope Boniface VIII, and to his own son at Bologna, of each of which letters he professes to quote the opening sentences; and besides these, he adds, Dante wrote other letters also, too numerous to specify, which are in the hands of many persons at the present time:

Edidit et epistolas innumerabiles; aliam cuius est hoc principium ad invictissimum Hunnorum Regem: 'Magna de te fama in omnes dissipata, rex dignissime, coegit me indignum exponere manum calamo, et ad tuam humanitatem accedere.' Aliam, cuius est initium rursus ad Bonifacium Pontificem Maximum: 'Beatitudinis tuae sanctitas nihil potest cogitare pollutum, quae vices in terris gerens Christi, totius est misericordiae sedes, verae pietatis exemplum, summae religionis apex.' Aliam, qua filium alloquitur, qui Bononiae aberat, cuius hoc est principium: 'Scientia, mi fili, coronat homines, et eos contentos reddit, quam cupiunt sapientes, negligunt insipientes, honorant boni, vituperant mali.' Edidit alias, quas habent multi, mihi quidem est enumerare difficile.

If this very precise and circumstantial account of letters of Dante, of which no previous writer had made mention, could have been accepted as authentic, as it was by Filelfo's editor, Domenico Moreni, and by Pelli, Balbo, and others, it would have made a most interesting and valuable addition to our scanty information on the subject. Unfortunately, however, Filelfo is a writer whose unsupported assertions it is impossible to regard without grave suspicion, even when he claims, as he does with respect to his life of Dante, that he has recorded only

what he knew of his own personal knowledge, or had seen with his own eyes—'ea dumtaxat refero, quae certo scio, quaeque ipse vidi, cetera non ausim affirmare'. Apart from palpable misstatements of fact, instances of which have been pointed out by Bartoli and others,[1] there are at least two demonstrable falsifications in this same work. When he comes to deal with the *De Monarchia* and the *De Vulgari Eloquentia*, in his account of Dante's writings, Filelfo, as in the case of the three letters above mentioned, makes a parade of quoting the beginnings of each of these treatises:

Romano quidem stilo edidit opus, cui Monarchiae dedit nomen, cuius hoc est principium: 'Magnitudo eius, qui sedens in throno cunctis dominatur, in caelo stans omnia videt, nusquam exclusus, nullibi est inclusus, ita dividit gratia munera, ut mutos aliquando faciat loqui.' Edidit et opus de Vulgari Eloquentia hoc principio: 'Ut Romana lingua in totum est orbem nobilitata terrarum, ita nostri cupiunt nobilitare suam; proptereaque difficilius est hodie recte nostra quam perite latina quidquam dicere.'

A glance at the actual beginnings of the *De Monarchia* and *De Vulgari Eloquentia* will suffice to show that these alleged quotations by Filelfo do not bear the smallest resemblance to what Dante really wrote, and are in fact unblushing fabrications on Filelfo's part—fabrications, it may be explained, in which it was comparatively safe for him to indulge, in view of the circumstance that the treatises in question existed only in MS. at that time,[2] and that the MSS. were few and not easily accessible.

[1] See Bartoli, *Storia della Letteratura Italiana*, vol. v, pp. 105-6; and Moore, *Dante and his Early Biographers*, pp. 95 ff.

[2] The *De Monarchia* was not printed till 1559, and the *De Vulgari Eloquentia* (of which an Italian translation by Trissino was published in 1529) not till 1577.

Such being the case, we have no alternative but to conclude, as most recent critics have done, that the letters quoted as Dante's by Filelfo are equally apocryphal. It is not without significance in this connexion that Filelfo's best known work, of which no less than eight editions were printed in the fifteenth century, was an *Epistolarium, seu de arte conficiendi epistolas opus*;[1] so that no doubt in his 'confection' of these alleged letters of Dante he was but exercising himself in an art of which he was the professed exponent.

With Filelfo we take leave of the early biographers of Dante, subsequent notices, such as those of Landino and Vellutello,[2] containing nothing, so far as Dante's letters are concerned, but a repetition in a more or less meagre form of what had already appeared in the lives of Boccaccio or of Bruni.[3]

It was not till the middle of the sixteenth century that

[1] This work contains among other things a complete analysis of 'the eighty possible categories under which epistles can fall'. An example of each of these categories is given, and to each of them is subjoined a list of appropriate 'sinonima' or stock phrases, such as 'sinonima gratulatoria', 'sinonima postulativa', 'sinonima vituperatoria', 'sinonima invectiva', and so on. The 'exemplum' under the last heading is 'Es una omnium voce sentina scelerum cloaca foetidissima!'

[2] Prefixed to their commentaries on the *Commedia*, first published respectively at Florence in 1481 and at Venice in 1544.

[3] It is interesting, however, to note that Vellutello was acquainted with Filelfo's life of Dante, of which he did not disdain to avail himself, though he severely criticizes the author on the score of his numerous irrelevancies, and of his disbelief in the reality of Beatrice: 'Scrisse la vita di Dante dopo l'Aretino, Mario Filelfo in lingua latina, . . . introducendovi molte cose più tosto impertinenti che accomodate alla materia, e negando Beatrice essere stata donna vera, . . . come ancora molti sciocchi hanno detto di Laura celebrata dal Petrarca.'

the first actual text of a letter of Dante was given to the world. This was in 1547, in which year was published in Florence a slim quarto of eighty pages, now exceedingly rare, entitled *Prose Antiche di Dante, Petrarcha et Boccaccio, et di molti altri Nobili et Virtuosi Ingegni, nuovamente raccolte.* The first piece in this volume, of which the editor, as well as printer, was the eccentric Anton Francesco Doni, is 'Pistola di Dante Alighieri Poeta Fiorentino all' Imperator' Arrigo di Luzimborgo', and is in fact an Italian translation, in a very corrupt and mutilated text, of Dante's letter to the Emperor Henry VII, the Latin original of which, as we have seen, was known to Villani, Boccaccio, and Bruni. The last piece but one in the volume is a letter in Italian 'Al Magnifico Messer Guido da Polenta, Signor da Ravenna', dated from Venice, March 30, 1314, and signed 'L' umil servo vostro Dante Alighieri Fiorentino'.

No indication is given by Doni as to the source from which these two letters were derived. As regards the genuineness of the Italian translation of the letter to Henry VII there can be no manner of doubt, inasmuch as numerous MSS. of it are in existence, and it more or less closely corresponds with the Latin text as we now have it. The letter to Guido da Polenta, however, stands on a very different footing. Not only has no MS. of this letter ever been heard of, but it bears on the face of it indubitable proofs of its falsity. The letter, which purports to be an account of Dante's experiences as envoy of Guido da Polenta to the Venetian Republic to offer congratulations on the recent election of a new Doge, runs as follows:[1]

[1] For the original, which is printed among the letters of, or attributed to, Dante by Witte (*Epistola Apocrypha*), Torri (*Epist.* xi), Fraticelli (*Epist.* viii), and Giuliani (*Epist.* iv), see *Appendix* A.

To the Magnificent Messer Guido da Polenta, Lord of Ravenna.

Anything in the world should I sooner have expected to see, rather than what I have actually in person seen and experienced of the character of this exalted government. To quote the words of Virgil: 'Minuit praesentia famam.'[1] I had imagined to myself that I should here find those noble and magnanimous Catos, those severe censors of depraved morals, in short everything which this people, in their most pompous and pretentious fashion, would have unhappy and afflicted Italy believe that they themselves specially represent. Do they not style themselves 'rerum dominos gentemque togatam'?[2] Oh truly unhappy and misguided populace, so insolently oppressed, so vilely governed, and so cruelly maltreated by these upstarts, these destroyers of ancient law, these perpetrators of injustice and corruption!

But what am I to say to you of the dense and bestial ignorance of these grave and reverend signiors? On coming into the presence of so ripe and venerable a council, in order not to derogate from your dignity and my own authority, I purposed to perform my office as your ambassador in that tongue, which along with the imperial power of fair Ausonia is daily declining, and is ever destined to decline; hoping perchance to find it throned in its majesty in this distant corner, hereafter to be spread abroad with the power of this state throughout the length and breadth of Europe, at the least. But alas! I could not have appeared more of a stranger and foreigner had I but just arrived from remotest Thule in the west. Nay, I should have been more likely to find an interpreter of my unknown tongue, if I had come to them from the fabled Antipodes, than to be listened to here with the eloquence of Rome upon my lips. For no sooner had I pronounced a few words of the exordium, which I had prepared in your name in felicitation of the recent election of this most serene Doge, namely: 'Lux orta est

[1] Actually Claudian, *De Bello Gildonico*, 386.
[2] *Aen.* i. 286.

iusto, et rectis corde laetitia,'[1] than it was intimated to me that I must either provide myself with an interpreter, or speak in another language. Accordingly, whether more in amazement or indignation I know not, I began to make a short speech in the tongue which has been mine from the cradle; this, however, proved to be hardly more familiar or native to them than the Latin had been.

Hence it has come about, that instead of being the bearer to them of joy and gladness, I have been the sower, in the most fertile field of their ignorance, of the abundant seeds of wonder and confusion. And it is no matter for wonder if the Italian tongue is unintelligible to them, seeing that they are descended from Dalmatians and Greeks, and have brought no other contribution to this noble land than the vilest and most shameless practices, together with the abomination of every sort of unbridled licentiousness.

I have thought it incumbent on me, therefore, to send you this brief account of the mission which I have accomplished on your behalf; begging you at the same time, though you may always command my services, not to use me further on such like employments, from which you can look for no credit at any time, nor I for consolation.

I shall remain here for a few days in order to satisfy the natural appetite of my bodily eyes for the wonders and attractions of this place; after which I shall transport myself to that most welcome haven of my rest, under the gracious protection of your royal courtesy.

From Venice, this 30th day of March, 1314
Your humble servant, Dante Alighieri of Florence.

Apart from the manifest absurdity of the charge against the Venetians that they could understand neither Latin (which was in fact at that time in Venice, as elsewhere in Italy, the official language of the State) nor Italian, the following blunders chronological and otherwise have been pointed out amongst others as fatal to the pretensions of

[1] From the Vulgate, *Psalm* xcvi. 11.

this letter to be considered authentic.[1] To begin with, all the available evidence goes to prove that Dante did not take refuge with Guido da Polenta at Ravenna till 1317 or 1318, that is to say, not till three or four years after the alleged date (1314) of this embassy to Venice. Secondly, in the year 1314 Guido da Polenta was not Lord of Ravenna, as he is styled in the letter, but Podestà of Cesena. Thirdly, the so-called 'recent election' of the Doge (Gian Soranzo) had taken place more than a year and a half before, namely, on July 13, 1312. Finally, we have the damning fact that Dante, who claims in the *Commedia* that he knew the *Aeneid* 'tutta quanta',[2] is made to attribute to Virgil a quotation from Claudian, an author with whom there is no evidence that he had any acquaintance. To all of which may be added the further objections that the letter is written in Italian, instead of in Latin as we should naturally expect, and that it has a most decided 'cinquecento' ring about it, the style being as unlike Dante's known epistolary style as it could well be.

Doni included Dante's letter to the Emperor Henry, with other pieces from the *Prose Antiche*, in a subsequent work, his *Zucca*, which he published at Venice in 1552; but he did not reprint the letter to Guido, of which it has not unnaturally been assumed that he himself was the fabricator. This letter, nevertheless, was accepted as genuine by Biscioni, who reproduced it, together with that to the Emperor, in his *Prose di Dante Alighieri e di Messer Giovanni Boccacci*, published at Florence in 1723; and it has also found supporters in Tasso (in his *Dialogo del Forno*, published in 1581) and Fontanini,[3] as well as

[1] See Bartoli, *Storia della Letteratura Italiana*, vol. v, pp. 237 ff.; and Scartazzini, *Dante in Germania*, vol. ii, pp. 303 ff.

[2] *Inf.* xx. 113–14.

[3] In his *Eloquenza Italiana*.

in Torri,[1] Fraticelli,[2] and Scheffer-Boichorst,[3] among others of more recent date.

A few years after the publication of Doni's *Prose* we hear from several quarters of the letter to Can Grande (*Epist.* x), which, as has already been mentioned, was utilized by several of the early commentators on the *Commedia*, though, with the exception of Filippo Villani, they make no reference to it by name.[4] Giovan Batista Gelli, best known as the author of *I Capricci del Bottaio* (Englished not long after his death as *The Fearfull Fansies of the Florentine Couper*), who delivered a series of public lectures on Dante before the Florentine Academy at various times between 1541 and 1563, in a discussion in his eighth course, in 1562, as to the title *Commedia* bestowed by Dante on his poem, recapitulates what he had said on the subject in a previous lecture, and then proceeds as follows:

All that I told you on the former occasion as the expression of my own personal opinion, I to-day repeat to you as a matter of my own knowledge. For a year or two ago there came into my hands, through the good offices of the deceased Tommaso Santini, a fellow citizen of ours, a letter in Latin, which our Poet sent to the Lord Can Grande della Scala, Vicar-General of the principality of Verona and of Vicenza, together with a presentation copy of the third cantica of his poem, namely the *Paradiso*.

[1] See his *Epistole di Dante Allighieri edite e inedite*, pp. xvii–xviii, 71.

[2] See his *Opere minori di Dante*, vol. iii, pp. 476 ff. After examining the arguments on both sides, Fraticelli says: 'Io non affermerò che la lettera appartenga indubbiamente al nostro Alighieri; ma posti in bilancia gli argomenti che dall' una e dall' altra parte si adducono, parmi che preponderino quelli che stanno per l' affermativa.'

[3] In his *Aus Dantes Verbannung*; see Scartazzini, *Dante in Germania* vol. ii, pp. 304 ff.

[4] See above, p. xvii.

In which letter he treats of certain matters, with a view to the better understanding of his purpose in the poem, and among others of the reason why he gave to it this title of *Commedia*. He points out that Comedy differs from Tragedy in its subject-matter, inasmuch as Tragedy in its beginning is admirable and quiet, but in its ending foul and horrible (these being our author's own expressions), whereas Comedy begins with an element of adversity, but in the end turns out happily—a circumstance, he adds, which has given rise to the employment by some letter-writers of the salutation, 'tragicum principium, et comicum finem,' as a substitute for the conventional greeting. Again, he shows that Comedy differs from Tragedy in the style of its diction, the language of Tragedy being lofty and inflated, while that of Comedy is unstudied and homely; whence he concludes [and Gelli here quotes the original text of Dante's letter]: 'Et per hoc patet quod Comoedia dicitur praesens opus. Nam si ad materiam aspiciamus, a principio horribilis et foetida est, quia Infernus; in fine prospera, desiderabilis et grata, quia Paradisus. Ad modum loquendi, remissus est modus et humilis, quia locutio vulgaris, in qua et mulierculae comunicant; et sic patet, quia Comoedia dicitur.'[1]

Gelli quotes the letter a second time in another lecture, of which only a fragment has been preserved, in connexion with Dante's scathing apostrophe to Florence at the beginning of the twenty-sixth canto of the *Inferno*. 'Not only', he says, 'did Dante rebuke Florence in this place, and in numerous other passages in his works, but he twice in the letter he sent to Can Grande, Lord of Verona, with a copy of his poem, describes himself in these terms: "Dantes Alagherius, Florentinus patria, sed non moribus".'[2]

[1] *Epist.* x, ll. 218–25; see *Letture edite e inedite di Giovan Batista Gelli sopra la Commedia di Dante*, raccolte per cura di Carlo Negroni, vol. ii, p. 295.

[2] *Op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 515.

The Can Grande letter was known also to sundry other writers on Dante in the sixteenth century, contemporaries of Gelli (1498–1563), among others to Lodovico Castelvetro (1505–71) of Modena, Vincenzo Borghini (1515–80) of Florence, and Jacopo Mazzoni (1548–98) of Cesena.[1] Castelvetro in his *Sposizione di Canti ventinove dell' Inferno di Dante* (first published in 1886) identifies the 'Veltro' of *Inferno* i. 101 with Can Grande, to whom, he says, according to Boccaccio in his life of Dante, the poet dedicated the *Commedia*; 'but', he continues, 'I have in my possession a MS. of a letter of Dante's, written in Latin, which begins "Dantes Aligerius natione florentinus, non moribus, magno Cani etc."; from which letter it clearly appears that Dante dedicated to Can Grande, not the whole poem, but the *Paradiso* only'.[2] It should be noted that Castelvetro here misrepresents Boccaccio, who does not assert positively that Dante dedicated the *Commedia* as a whole to Can Grande, but states that opinions differed as to the dedication, inasmuch as, according to some, Dante dedicated the *Inferno* to Uguccione della Faggiuola, the *Purgatorio* to Moroello Malaspina, and the *Paradiso* to Frederick the Third of Sicily; while, according to others, he dedicated the whole poem to Can Grande.[3] Castelvetro quotes the title of the letter again, in his comment on *Inferno* xv. 69, as a proof that Dante obeyed Brunetto Latini's injunction to dissociate himself from the evil

[1] The letter was also quoted by Antonio degli Albizzi (1547–1626) in his (as yet unpublished) *Risposta al Discorso del Castravilla* (see Barbi, *Della Fortuna di Dante nel Cinquecento*, p. 102); and (later) by Benedetto Buonmattei (1581–1647) in *Quaderno Secondo per le lezioni su Dante* (see Boffito, *L' Epistola di D. A. a Cangrande della Scala*, p. 3, n. 3).

[2] *Sposizione*, p. 23.

[3] *Vita di Dante*, § 15, ed. Macrì-Leone, p. 72.

ways of the Florentines—'Da' lor costumi fa che tu ti forbi'.[1]

Borghini makes use of the letter in his *Introduzione al Poema di Dante per l' Allegoria* (first printed in 1855), in which he quotes long extracts from the letter in the original Latin, namely §§ 7 and 8, and parts of §§ 15 and 16, to show with what object Dante wrote the *Commedia*, and the various senses in which he meant it to be interpreted; and part of § 32 for Dante's explanation why he did not continue his exposition of the poem, his reason being the 'rei familiaris angustia'.[2] Borghini says that the text of the letter as seen by him (which he evidently emended in the passages he has quoted) was so corrupt as to be hardly intelligible;[3] and after stating that it was at that time known to many persons ('in mano di molti'), he observes that by some of the old commentators on the *Commedia* the letter was prefixed to their commentary as the author's own preface to his poem—an interesting observation, which, however, is not confirmed by our present knowledge of the early commentaries.[4]

Mazzoni's mention of the letter occurs in the *Introduttione e Sommario* of the first volume of his celebrated *Difesa di Dante*, which was published at Cesena in 1587. In his summary of the contents of the last chapter of the first

[1] *Inf.* xv. 69, in *Sposizione*, p. 199.

[2] See *Studi sulla Divina Commedia di Galileo Galilei, Vincenzo Borghini, ed altri*; pubblicati per cura ed opera di Ottavo Gigli, pp. 155–7, 160.

[3] 'Detta Epistola, che io ho veduta, è tanto scorretta, che a pena si può leggere' (*op. cit.*, p. 155).

[4] This observation may possibly have been suggested to Borghini by the *Praefatio incerti Auctoris*, which accompanies the letter in some of the MSS., and was first printed by Baruffaldi in 1700 (see below, p. xli).

book[1] he says: 'It is shown in this chapter that Dante's poem was composed by him in the form of a vision, as he himself has openly declared in his *Vita Nuova*, as well as in a Latin letter which he sent to Cane della Scala, explaining the purpose of the third cantica of his poem; which letter was sent to me from Florence a few days ago by Signor Domenico Mellini, a most worthy gentleman and lover of letters.'

He then proceeds to excuse himself from discussing the letter at that point, on the ground that it was his intention to speak of it at length in his second volume. This second volume, however, which was not published till 1688, ninety years after Mazzoni's death, unfortunately contains no reference to the letter; whence it has been concluded either that his projected disquisition on the subject was never written, or that it was suppressed by his editor.

In the seventeenth century we find notice for the first time of the existence of the Latin text of the letter to the Emperor Henry VII. This occurs in the notes (first printed in 1636) on the *De Rebus Gestis Henrici Septimi* of Albertino Mussato by Lorenzo Pignoria of Padua (1571–1631), who states that he had in his own possession a MS. of this text; he identifies the letter with that mentioned by Villani, and with that printed in Italian by Doni, and promises to publish it—a promise which remained unfulfilled.

'Dantes vatum clarissimus,' he writes, 'hisce diebus epistolam scripsit Henrico, quam nacti in pervetusto codice, nostro manuscripto publici iuris facere decrevimus,

[1] In § 90 (numbered on the margin) of the *Introduttione e Sommario*, which is not paged in the original 1587 edition.

et describi curavimus seorsum in calce spicelegii nostri, cum aliis nonnullis eiusdem aevi monumentis ; et eiusdem epistolae meminit Iohannes Villanus, lib. 9, cap. 35. Quam etiam Italicè redditam vidimus et editam Florentiae, anno 1547.'[1]

In the last year of this century (1700) the complete text of the letter to Can Grande was published at Venice in a literary periodical called *La Galleria di Minerva*,[2] to which it had been communicated two years before by Girolamo Baruffaldi, sub-librarian of the public library at Ferrara, this being the first letter of Dante to be given to the world in the original Latin. In his dedicatory note to Giulio Cesare Grazzini, secretary of the Academy of the *Intrepidi* of Ferrara, Baruffaldi states that the letter, which he describes as 'una antica e non pubblicata Pistola del divino Dante Alighieri', had been discovered a short time previously in a MS. in the collection of the well-known scholar and physician of Ferrara, Giuseppe Lanzoni (1663–1730), who had obligingly placed it at his disposal. Baruffaldi printed at the head of the letter a *Praefatio incerti Auctoris*, which runs as follows:

It was customary in former times for writers to prefix to their works a few introductory remarks, which the briefer they were, the more quickly they led up to the subject of the work in question, especially in the case of authors who were not gifted with the elegant and correct style of diction proper to professed teachers of rhetoric. I will hasten, therefore, to acquit myself of my task, lest, while studying to avoid prolixity, I should fall into that very fault. Suffice it then that in lieu of preface I present the reader with what the Poet wrote to Messer Cane, to whom he dedicated this third cantica, whereby his inten-

[1] See Muratori, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, x. 385.

[2] Vol. iii, pp. 220–8.

tion in the poem may the more easily be comprehended from the observations to which he himself gave expression in the following form.[1]

This preface, which occurs in four of the six known MSS.,[2] was reprinted by the eighteenth-century editors, but it has been discarded by the more recent editors of the letters of Dante.

The text of the letter as printed in the *Galleria di Minerva* was full of blunders, due either to the original scribe or to the copyist of the Lanzoni MS.; and in this corrupt form it continued to be reproduced for more than a hundred years. It may be mentioned that a collation with this text of the passages recorded above as having been quoted by Gelli and Borghini shows that the latter were not derived from the same MS. as the Baruffaldi text.

Later in this century we get the first accession to the list of letters hitherto recorded. This consists of the letter to the Princes and Peoples of Italy (*Epist.* v), in an Italian version, which was printed in a collection of letters of the eleventh, fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries, published at Rome in 1754 by Pietro Lazzari

[1] 'Praefari aliqua in initio cuiusque operis sui antiquitas consuevit, quae quanto pauciora fuerint, tanto ocius ad rem, de qua agitur, aditus fiet, praesertim cui curae non erit exquisita, et accurata locutio, quae docentibus eloquentiam convenit. Expediam igitur illicò, ne dum studeo devitare prolixitatem, in illam ipsam incurrerim. Satis igitur mihi erit in loco, vice prohemii fore consultum, si quae Poeta rescribens Domino Cani, cui hanc canticam tertiam dedicavit, pro ipsa praefatione indiderim: quo melius Poetae intentio ab eiusdem observationibus intelligatur; quae sub hac forma fuere. . . .'

[2] It is omitted in the two earliest (Cent. XV) MSS. See *Bullettino della Società Dantesca Italiana*, N.S., xvi. 23–5; and below, p. 160, n. 1.

from MSS. in the library of the Jesuits' College at Rome.[1] Lazzari states that the MS. in which the letter occurs contained also the Italian version of Dante's letter to the Emperor, as well as Marsilio Ficino's translation of the *De Monarchia*, extracts from the *Vita Nuova*, and Bruni's lives of Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio. He remarks that the text of the letter to the Emperor differs to some extent from that printed by Biscioni,[2] from which he concludes, rightly as we now know, that both that letter and the one he now prints for the first time were originally written in Latin.

In 1788 Giovan Jacopo Dionisi of Verona printed in the fourth volume of his series of *Aneddoti*[3] sundry variants from a MS., at that time in the Cocchi collection, now in the Chapter Library at Verona, of the letter to Can Grande; and two years later (1790) he printed for the first time, in the fifth volume of the same series, the Latin text of yet another letter of Dante, namely, the letter to a Florentine friend.[4] This letter was discovered at Florence in the now famous Laurentian MS.,[5] usually known as the *Zibaldone Boccaccesco*. The contents of this MS. had been described by Bandini in the volume of his catalogue of the MSS. in the Laurentian Library[6]

[1] *Miscellaneorum ex MSS. libris Bibliothecae Collegii Romani Societatis Jesu tomus primus* (pp. 139–44).

[2] In *Prose di Dante Alighieri e di Messer Giovanni Boccacci*, published at Florence in 1723 (see above, p. xxxv).

[3] Vol. iv, p. 19.

[4] Vol. v, pp. 176–7.

[5] *Cod. Laurent.* xxix. 8.

[6] Angelo Maria Bandini (1726–1800); his *Catalogus Codicum MSS. Graecorum, Latinorum, et Italorum Bibliothecae Mediceae-Laurentianae* was published at Florence in eight folio volumes in 1764–78; his description of MS. xxix. 8 occurs in vol. ii, pp. 9–28 (see Troya, *Del Veltro Allegorico di Dante*, pp. 202–3).

published in 1775, but he does not appear to have had any inkling as to the authorship of the letter, which, together with two others in the same MS., he registered as anonymous. The Abate Mehus, however, who a few years before (in 1759) had printed in his *Vita Ambrosii Camaldulensis* the much discussed letter of Frate Ilario from this same MS., recognized Dante as the author of the letter to a Florentine friend, and communicated the fact to Dionisi, who printed it accordingly.[1] His original text in the *Aneddoti* having been very imperfect, Dionisi subsequently issued an emended text in his *Preparazione istorica e critica alla nuova edizione di Dante Allighieri*,[2] which was published at Verona in 1806. Twenty years later (in 1826) Carlo Troya made a fresh examination of the letters in the Laurentian MS., and satisfied himself that not only the letter to a Florentine friend, but also the other two letters, which immediately precede it in the MS., and which Bandini had catalogued as anonymous, were written by Dante. In the former of these two letters, which is headed *Cardinalibus Ytalicis D. de Florentia*, he recognized the letter mentioned by Villani as having been written by Dante to the Italian Cardinals after the death of Clement V. The second letter is headed *Exulanti Pistoriensi florentinus exul immeritus*, the addressee of which Troya identified with Dante's friend, Cino da Pistoja, an identification which has been generally accepted, as has that of the Florentine 'exul immeritus' with Dante himself. Troya's famous *Veltro Allegorico di Dante* being at that time on the eve of publication, he was unable to include these two new letters in that work, but he announced his discovery in the book, and by way of

[1] See Troya, *Del Veltro Allegorico di Dante*, pp. 203–4.

[2] Vol. i, pp. 71–3.

specimen printed the first few paragraphs of the letter to the Cardinals in an Appendix.[1]

Besides the letters of Dante and of Frate Ilario this Laurentian MS. contains the poetical correspondence of Dante and Giovanni del Virgilio. It has recently been established by Henri Hauvette that these portions of the MS. are in the handwriting of Boccaccio,[2] who, as we have already stated, made use in his *Vita di Dante* of the letter to a Florentine friend, and also, it may here be added, of the letter of Frate Ilario in the same work.

In 1827, the year following Troya's announcement of his discovery in the Laurentian MS., appeared the first attempt at a collected edition of the letters of Dante. This was Karl Witte's *Dantis Allighierii Epistolae quae exstant*, which was printed privately, in sixty copies only,[3] at Padua in that year. The contents of this volume, the idea of which seems to have been suggested to Witte by the desire for such an edition expressed nearly a hundred years before by Fontanini in his *Eloquenza Italiana*,[4] were as follows, there being seven letters in all:

1. The Latin text of the letter to Cino da Pistoja (*Epist.* iii (iv)), now printed for the first time from a copy supplied by Sebastiano Ciampi from the Laurentian MS.

2. The Italian translation of the letter to the Princes and Peoples of Italy (*Epist.* v), first printed by Lazzari at Rome in 1754.

[1] *Del Veltro Allegorico di Dante*, pp. 204–5, 214–16.

[2] See above, p. xvii, n. 2.

[3] 'In nur 60 verschenkten Exemplaren,' wrote Witte of this volume in his article *Neu aufgefundene Briefe des Dante Allighieri*, published in 1838 in *Blätter für literarische Unterhaltung* (Nos. 149–51), and reprinted in *Dante-Forschungen*, vol. i, pp. 473–87.

[4] See Witte, *Dantis Allighierii Epistolae quae exstant*, p. 4 n.: 'Una ut ederentur [Dantis Epistolae], iam Fontaninus (Eloqu. ital. Ven. 1737, p. 154) desideravit.'

3. The Latin text of the letter to the Emperor Henry VII (*Epist.* vii), now printed for the first time from a MS. in the Biblioteca Marciana at Venice. Witte's attention having been drawn to the fact that extracts from this letter in Latin were printed in the catalogue of the Biblioteca Muranese, search was made at his instance through the good offices of the Marchese Gian Giacomo Trivulzio, with the result that the MS. containing the letter was discovered by the Abate Giovanni Antonio Moschini, the Prefetto of the Biblioteca Marciana, whither the spoils of the Murano Library had been transferred. Besides the Latin text, Witte included an emended text of the Italian translation of the same letter, which had been first printed by Doni in 1547.

4. The Latin text of the letter to the Italian Cardinals (*Epist.* viii), now first printed in full from the Laurentian MS. The first few paragraphs of this letter were, as we have seen, printed by Troya in his *Veltro Allegorico* in 1826. The remainder was copied and printed by Witte himself in the same year in the *Antologia* of Florence;[1] and he now printed a revised and emended text of the whole letter.

5. The Latin text (revised) of the letter to a Florentine friend (*Epist.* ix), first printed by Dionisi at Verona in 1790.

6. The Latin text (with numerous emendations) of the letter to Can Grande (*Epist.* x), first printed in full by Baruffaldi at Venice in 1700.

7. The apocryphal letter, as Witte does not hesitate to pronounce it,[2] to Guido da Polenta, first printed by Doni in 1547.

[1] Vol. xxiii, p. 57. [2] He heads it 'Epistola Apocrypha'.

In 1837, ten years after the appearance of Witte's volume, occurred what is undoubtedly the most important event yet recorded in the history of the letters of Dante; namely, the discovery in the Vatican Library, by a German student named Theodor Heyse, while collating MSS. of the *Divina Commedia* on behalf of Witte, of a fourteenth-century MS. containing no less than nine letters directly or indirectly attributed to Dante. The history of this MS., which, besides the letters of Dante, contains Petrarch's twelve eclogues and Dante's *De Monarchia*,[1] so far as it has been possible to trace it, is briefly as follows. It was executed in the fourteenth century,[2] apparently for Francesco da Montepulciano, of the family of the Piendibeni of that place,[3] a Tuscan notary of some distinction, the friend and correspondent of Coluccio Salutati, the Florentine Chancellor, and successor of Filippo Villani in the Chancellorship of Perugia, who at the end of the Eclogues has written his name and the date, Perugia, 20 July, 1394.[4] Francesco da Montepulciano left his books to the Capitular Library of the Cathedral of Montepulciano, the greater part of which was destroyed

[1] This was one of the MSS. which was utilized by Witte in his edition of the treatise published at Vienna in 1874 (see p. lviii).

[2] O. Zenatti was of opinion that the original compiler of the collection contained in this MS. was Boccaccio (see his *Dante e Firenze*, pp. 458 ff.; see also *Bullettino della Società Dantesca Italiana*, N.S. x. 139).

[3] To give him his full description, Francesco di Ser Jacopo di Ser Piendibene da Montepulciano (see F. Novati, *Epistolario di Coluccio Salutati*, iii. 312, n. 2; and O. Zenatti, *Dante e Firenze*, pp. 378 ff.).

[4] *Francisci de Montepolitiano. Expleui corrigere 20 Iulii Perusii 1394* (see Witte, *Dante-Forschungen*, vol. i, p. 474; and Zenatti, *Dante e Firenze*, p. 374). For an enumeration of the portions of the MS. in the handwriting of Francesco, see Zenatti, *op. cit.*, p. 378.

by fire in 1539;[1] but this MS. by some chance before that date had come into the possession of the Florentine scholar and biographer of Dante, Giannozzo Manetti (1396–1459),[2] whence it eventually passed into the collection of the celebrated bibliophile, Ulrich Fugger (1526–84),[3] son of Raimund Fugger, one of the famous merchant-princes of Augsburg. Ulrich Fugger, whose extravagance in the matter of books was such that at one time his family obtained a decree to restrict his expenditure, as is well known, became a Protestant, and to escape persecution took refuge in the Rhenish Palatinate and settled at Heidelberg, where he died in 1584, leaving his extensive collection of MSS. to the library of that city. After the capture of Heidelberg by Tilly in 1622, the most valuable portion of the library, consisting of nearly two hundred cases of MSS., was presented by Maximilian I of Bavaria, in return for the papal support, to Pope Gregory XV, and was transferred to Rome and incorporated in the Vatican Library, under the superintendence of Leone Allacci.[4] Among the MSS. thus removed to the

[1] See F. Novati, *Le Epistole di Dante*, in *Lectura Dantis: Le Opere Minori di D.A.*, p. 300.

[2] See Zenatti, *Dante e Firenze*, pp. 370–5 note, 414–19.

[3] See Zenatti, *op. cit.*, pp. 372–4 note.

[4] Allacci, who was subsequently librarian of the Vatican (1661–69), has left an interesting account of this transaction (see Curzio Mazzi, *Leone Allacci e la Palatina di Heidelberg*, Bologna, 1893). Some idea of the extent of the collection may be gathered from the fact that Allacci estimated that the covers alone, which to facilitate transport he caused to be stripped from the MSS., amounted to thirteen wagon-loads: 'Lo sgravamento delle coperte,' he writes, 'è stato tanto necessario, poichè importava tanto e con l' occupar il luogho et il peso (poichè, se si fosse fatto altrimenti, saria stato impossibile la condotta), poichè importava tanto quanto li doi terzi delli libri che mecho conduco. E per mia curiosità ho posto da

Vatican were many which had formed part of the Fugger collection, one of them being this MS.[1] containing the nine letters attributed to Dante discovered by Heyse.

Witte, having received copies of the letters from Heyse, wrote an account of them, with copious (translated) extracts, in an article entitled *Neu aufgefundene Briefe des Dante Allighieri*,[2] which appeared in *Blätter für literarische Unterhaltung* in May, 1838, and prepared to edit and publish them. But while he was engaged upon the work his portfolio containing the transcript of the letters was stolen from him, and it was more than two years before he could succeed in getting fresh copies made.[3] In the meantime, attention having been directed to the MS. by the publication of Witte's article, one of the employés at the Vatican Library, Massi by name, took copies of the letters on his own account with the intention of forestalling Witte's projected edition. Massi, however, was unable to obtain the necessary *imprimatur*, and he then (in the autumn of 1841) offered his copies to Alessandro Torri of Pisa, who had been for some time engaged upon

parte tutte quelle coperte, per veder quanto luogho occupavano e quanto pesavano, e trovai che non bastavano mancho tredici carri, e fu giudicato che pesassero passa duecento centinara' (*op. cit.*, p. 25).

[1] Now *Cod. Vaticano-Palatino Latino* 1729.

[2] In this article Witte omitted to mention the name of the student to whom the discovery was due, an omission which he did not repair until four years later, in 1842, in which year he acknowledged his indebtedness to Heyse in the Appendix to the second part of *Dante Alighieri's lyrische Gedichte, übersetzt und erklärt von K. L. Kannegiesser und K. Witte* (p. 234).

[3] For this second transcript Witte was indebted once more to Heyse (see *Le Lettere di Dante scoperte dal Signor Teodoro Heyse*, in vol. ii, p. 701, of Niccolò Tommaseo's edition of the *Divina Commedia*, Milano, 1865).

an edition of the minor works of Dante. Torri availed himself of the offer, and forthwith proceeded to Rome for the purpose of collating the copies with the original MS. in the Vatican. Having satisfied himself as to their accuracy, he included the nine letters in his volume, *Epistole di Dante Allighieri edite e inedite*, which was published at Leghorn at the end of the following year (1842).[1] It should be mentioned that before the publication of Torri's volume Witte had printed the text of one of the letters in the Vatican MS. in an Appendix to the second volume of *Dante Alighieri's lyrische Gedichte*,[2] published by Karl Ludwig Kannegiesser and himself at Leipzig earlier in the same year.

Of the letters contained in the Vatican MS. all except one, namely that to the Emperor Henry VII, were now made known for the first time, or for the first time in the original Latin text. The letters, in the order of their occurrence in the MS., are as follows:

1. To the Emperor Henry VII (*Epist.* vii), the Latin text of which had been printed by Witte in his collected edition in 1827 from the Marcian MS.

2. To the Florentines (*Epist.* vi)—'scelestissimis Florentinis intrinsecis', the title and contents of which prove it to be the abusive letter mentioned by Bruni and Manetti as having been written by Dante to the Florentines after the coming of Henry VII into Italy.[3]

3, 4, 5. Three short letters written in the name of a Countess of Battifolle to Margaret of Brabant, wife of the Emperor Henry (*Epist.* vii*, vii**, vii***).

[1] See Witte's article, *Torris Ausgabe von Dantes Briefen*, in *Dante-Forschungen*, vol. i, pp. 489–90; and Torri, *op. cit.*, pp. vii–viii.

[2] Pp. 235–6.

[3] See above, pp. xxii–v.

6. To the Counts Oberto and Guido da Romena (*Epist.* ii).

7. To the Marquis Moroello Malaspina (*Epist.* iv (iii)), this being the letter mentioned above as having been printed by Witte in *Dante's lyrische Gedichte.*[1]

8. To the Cardinal Niccolò da Prato (*Epist.* i).

9. To the Princes and Peoples of Italy (*Epist.* v), which had been printed in an Italian version by Lazzari in 1754.

Of these nine letters, five are definitely ascribed to Dante by name in the MS.; while it is evident, from the places assigned to them in the midst of the others, that the remaining four, namely the three to the Empress and that to the Cardinal Niccolò, were regarded by the compiler of the collection as having been written by Dante.

With Torri's edition of the letters finality was reached so far as numbers are concerned. This total consisted of fourteen letters, which was made up of the three from the Laurentian MS., the nine from the Vatican MS., the letter to Can Grande, and the letter to Guido da Polenta; that is to say, his edition included the ten letters now usually accepted as Dante's (*Epistles* i to x in the *Oxford Dante*), together with the three Battifolle letters, as to which doubts still exist,[2] and the Polenta letter, now almost universally recognized as a falsification.

In 1857 Fraticelli published at Florence a revised edition of the letters, in which were embodied sundry emendations, the results of a fresh collation of the MSS. by

[1] See p. l, n. 2.

[2] For the arguments in favour of their having been written by Dante, see Moore, *The 'Battifolle' Letters sometimes attributed to Dante*, in *Modern Language Review*, ix. 173–89 (reprinted in *Studies in Dante*, Fourth Series).

Witte ;[1] which, however, were by no means always improvements, for textual criticism, in spite of Witte's reputation as critic and editor, was not altogether his strongest point.

In 1882 Giuliani published, also at Florence, an edition of all the letters,[2] with characteristic emendations of his own ; while from time to time, in the course of the last sixty years or so, critical or diplomatic texts of individual letters have been printed by various editors, for example, by Torricelli (*Epist.* v),[3] Muzzi (*Epist.* iii (iv), viii, ix),[4] Zenatti (*Epist.* i, iv (iii)),[5] Torraca (*Epist.* iv (iii)),[6] Della Torre (*Epist.* ix),[7]

[1] Fraticelli writes in his *Proemio* : ' Il dotto alemanno prof. Witte . . . non pago di quanto avea fatto la prima volta, volle di nuovo riscontrare i codici e confrontare le varie lezioni ; e nuovamente portando il suo esame critico sopra ogni frase ed ogni parola del testo, potè rettificare molti passi disordinati, rendere intelligibili varie frasi oscure, e correggere parecchi e parecchi errori. E quantunque del suo accurato lavoro avess' egli determinato valersi per una ristampa, pure per un tratto d' impareggiabil cortesia ha voluto esserne con me liberale, affinchè io me ne giovassi per l' edizione presente. La lezione dunque del testo latino, che or per me si produce, è interamente al Witte dovuta ' (*Opere Minori di Dante*, ed. 1893, vol. iii, p. 408). In 1855 Witte printed from a fifteenth-century MS. at Munich an improved text of the first four paragraphs of the letter to Can Grande (*Epist.* x) (see *Dante-Forschungen*, vol. i, pp. 500–7), of which Fraticelli does not appear to have availed himself.

[2] In the second volume of his *Opere Latine di Dante* (pp. 1–78).

[3] In the *Antologia di Fossombrone* for October 22, 1842 (see my article on *The S. Pantaleo Text of Dante's Letters to the Emperor Henry VII, and to the Princes and Peoples of Italy*, in *Modern Language Review*, vol. vii, p. 215, n. 1).

[4] In *Tre Epistole Latine di Dante Allighieri*, Prato, 1845.

[5] In *Dante e Firenze*, pp. 359–60, 431–2.

[6] In *Bullettino della Società Dantesca Italiana*, N.S., x. 143.

[7] In *Bullettino della Società Dantesca Italiana*, N.S., xii. 122–3.

Boffito (*Epist.* x),[1] Novati (*Epist.* iv (iii)),[2] Rostagno (*Epist.* viii),[3] and Parodi (*Epist.* iii (iv)).[4]

In 1895 Barbi drew attention in the *Bullettino della Società Dantesca Italiana*[5] to yet another MS., the fourth, containing letters of Dante. This was the fourteenth-century San Pantaleo MS. in the Biblioteca Vittorio Emanuele at Rome,[6] which had been registered by Colomb de Batines in his *Bibliografia Dantesca*[7] fifty years before, but had strangely been overlooked by all the editors of the letters.

During the last few years diplomatic texts of the two letters contained in this San Pantaleo MS., of the one in the Venetian MS., of the nine in the Vatican MS., and of the three in the Laurentian MS., together with emended texts of ten of the letters (viz. *Epist.* iii (iv), v, vi, vii, viii, ix, x, and the three Battifolle letters), have been printed in the *Modern Language Review*[8] by the present writer, with a view to the improvement of the text in the *Oxford Dante*, and as a preparation for the present edition.

The critical edition of the letters, undertaken by the Italian Dante Society, which was entrusted originally to Novati,[9] and, since his death, to Pistelli (who recently

[1] In *Memorie della Reale Accademia delle Scienze di Torino*, Serie ii, tom. lvii.

[2] In *Dante e la Lunigiana*, pp. 518–20.

[3] In *Sul Testo della Lettera di Dante ai Cardinali Italiani*, in *La Bibliofilia* (November, 1912).

[4] In *Bullettino della Società Dantesca Italiana*, N.S., xix. 271–2.

[5] N.S., ii. 23 n.

[6] *Cod. S. Pantaleo* 8.

[7] Vol. ii, pp. 208–9.

[8] For a list of these articles, see *Preface*, p. v, n. 2.

[9] Novati published an article on *Le Epistole di Dante* in *Lectura Dantis: Le Opere Minori di D. A.*, Firenze, 1906 (pp. 285–310); and

printed trial texts of *Epist.* vii and ix),[1] is still awaited, and now, owing to the war, is not likely to see the light for some time after the latest term originally fixed by the Society, namely, the sixth centenary of the death of Dante in September, 1921.[2]

another on *L' Epistola di Dante a Morello Malaspina* in *Dante e la Lunigiana*, Milano, 1909 (pp. 507–42).

[1] In the Appendix (pp. 199–221) to *Piccola Antologia della Bibbia Volgata, con Introduzioni e Note*, per cura di Ermenegildo Pistelli, Firenze, 1915.

[2] The foregoing *Introduction*, being concerned mainly with the history of the text of the letters, contains no mention (save incidentally) of translations and critical essays. As regards translations—Italian versions are included in the editions of the letters published by Fraticelli (Firenze, 1840, 1857, &c.) and by Torri (Livorno, 1842); there is a German translation by Kannegiesser (Leipzig, 1845); and there are two English translations, one by the late C. S. Latham (*Dante's Eleven Letters*, Boston, 1891), the other by P. H. Wicksteed (in *Translation of the Latin Works of Dante*, London, 1894). Further details as to these and other translations are given in the introductory notes prefixed to each letter in the body of the work. Critical essays are numerous; deserving of special mention here are the article by the late A. Della Torre on 'L'Epistola all' Amico Fiorentino', in *Bullettino della Società Dantesca Italiana*, N.S., xii. 121–74; that by the late F. Novati in the volume *Lectura Dantis: Le Opere Minori di Dante Alighieri* (Firenze, 1906); and two by the late Dr. Edward Moore, on 'The Epistle to Can Grande' (in *Studies in Dante*. Third Series. Oxford, 1903), and on 'The Battifolle Letters' (in *Studies in Dante*. Fourth Series. Oxford, 1917). References to many other articles of importance will be found in the admirable indices to the volumes of the *Bullettino della Società Dantesca Italiana*, edited originally by M. Barbi, and latterly by E. G. Parodi.

*** Since the above *Introduction* was written (1916) another text of the *Epistolae* has been published, viz. that contained in the edition of Dante's Latin prose works issued at Florence in 1917 by G. Barbèra (see below, p. 2, n. 1). This text, which, as is acknowledged in the *Avvertenza* prefixed to the volume, is largely based upon the texts printed by me in the *Modern Language Review*, is reproduced without alteration in the edition of *Tutte le Opere di Dante* issued by the same firm two years later.

LIST OF LETTERS

EPISTLE i (*'Praeceptis salutaribus moniti'*).
To the Cardinal Niccolò da Prato [1304].

EPISTLE ii (*'Patruus vester Alexander'*).
To the Counts Oberto and Guido da Romena [1304].

EPISTLE iii (iv) (*'Eructuavit incendium'*).
To a Pistojan Exile [*c.* 1305].

EPISTLE iv (iii) (*'Ne lateant dominum'*).
To the Marquis Moroello Malaspina [*c.* 1309].

EPISTLE v (*'Ecce nunc tempus acceptabile'*).
To the Princes and Peoples of Italy [Sept. or Oct., 1310].

EPISTLE vi (*'Aeterni pia providentia Regis'*).
To the Florentines [March 31, 1311].

EPISTLE vii (*'Immensa Dei dilectione testante'*).
To the Emperor Henry VII [April 17, 1311].

EPISTLE vii* (*'Gratissima regiae Benignitatis epistola'*).
To the Empress Margaret [April, 1311].

EPISTLE vii** (*'Regalis epistolae documenta'*).
To the Empress Margaret [April or May, 1311].

EPISTLE vii*** (*'Quum pagina vestrae Serenitatis'*).
To the Empress Margaret [May 18, 1311].

EPISTLE viii (*'Quomodo sedet sola civitas'*).
To the Italian Cardinals [May or June, 1314].

EPISTLE ix (*'In literis vestris'*).
To a Friend in Florence [May, 1315].

EPISTLE x (*'Inclyta vestrae Magnificentiae laus'*).
To Can Grande della Scala [*c.* 1319].

ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA

Page 1, n. 1, *for* Introduction *read* see *Introduction*, pp. xlvii ff.

Page 65, l. 16, for *Modern Language Review*, xiv. 111–12 read *Introduction*, p. xxv, n. 1.

Page 92, n. 1, *for* (§ 15, l. 6). *read* (§ 15, l. 6),

Page 98, n. 2, after *Introduction* insert p. xxvi.

Page 107, n. 8, after *Introduction* insert p. xxvi.

Page 161, l. 14, *for* 9. Fraticelli *read* 10. Fraticelli.

l. 15, *for* 10. Giuliani (1861) etc. *read* 9. Giuliani (1856): in *Del Metodo di commentare la Divina Commedia* (Savona, 1856; pp. xviii–xlvi); reprinted (with corrections) in *Metodo di commentare la Commedia di Dante Allighieri* (Firenze, 1861; pp. 14–40).

Page 162, l. 16, *for* 3. Fraticelli *read* 4. Fraticelli.

l. 17, *for* 4. Giuliani (1861) etc. *read* 3. Giuliani (1856): in *Del Metodo di commentare la Divina Commedia* (pp. xix–xlvii); reprinted (with corrections) in *Metodo di commentare la Commedia di Dante Allighieri* (pp. 15–41).

EPISTOLA I

(*'Praeceptis salutaribus moniti'*)

To the Cardinal Niccolò da Prato

[1304]

MSS.—This letter has been preserved in one MS. only, *Cod. Vaticano-Palatino Latino 1729* (Cent. xiv) in the Vatican[1], which contains, besides Dante's *De Monarchia*[2], and Petrarch's twelve Eclogues, nine letters attributed to Dante, viz. (in the order in which they occur in the MS.): to the Emperor Henry VII (*Epist.* vii); to the Florentines (*Epist.* vi); three to the Empress Margaret of Brabant (the so-called Battifolle letters[3]); to the Counts Oberto and Guido da Romena (*Epist.* ii); to Moroello Malaspina (*Epist.* iv (iii))[4]; to the Cardinal Niccolò da Prato (*Epist.* i); and to the Princes and Peoples of Italy (*Epist.* v).

Printed Texts.—1. A. Torri (1842): *Epist.* i, in *Epistole di Dante Allighieri edite e inedite* (Livorno, 1842; pp. 2–4). 2. P. Fraticelli (1857): *Epist.* i, in *Opere Minori di Dante Alighieri* (Firenze, 1857; vol. iii, pp. 438–40). 3. G. B. Giuliani (1882): *Epist.* i, in *Opere Latine di Dante Allighieri* (Firenze, 1882; vol. ii, pp. 3–5). 4. E. Moore (1894): *Epist.* i, in *Tutte le Opere di Dante Alighieri*[5] (Oxford, 1894; second edition, 1897; third edition, 1904; pp. 403–4). 5. O. Zenatti (1901): in *Dante e Firenze* (Firenze, 1901; pp. 359–60). 6. G. L. Passerini

[1] For the history of this MS., Introduction.

[2] This was one of the MSS. utilized by Witte in his edition of the treatise published at Vienna in 1874 (see p. lviii of that work).

[3] Here numbered *Epist.* vii*, vii**, vii***; see pp. 106, 112, 116.

[4] *Epist.* iii in the *Oxford Dante.*

[5] The *Oxford Dante.*

(1910): *Epist.* i, in *Opere Minori di Dante Alighieri* (Firenze, 1910; vi, pp. 4–10). 7. Paget Toynbee (1912): (diplomatic transcript of the MS. text, together with collations of the various readings of the several printed editions of the letter, and a list of proposed emendations in the Oxford text) in *Modern Language Review* (Cambridge, 1912; vol. vii, pp. 29–32). 8. [A. Della Torre][1] (1917): *Epist.* iii, in *De Monarchia e De Vulgari Eloquentia con le Epistolae e la Quaestio de Aqua et Terra di Dante Alighieri* (Firenze, 1917; pp. 235–8).

TRANSLATIONS.—*Italian.* 1. Torri (1842): *op. cit.*, pp. 3–5. 2. Fraticelli (1857): *op. cit.*, pp. 439–41. 3. Passerini (1910): *op. cit.*, pp. 5–11.—*German*[2]. 1. K. L. Kannegiesser (1845): in *Dante Alighieri's prosaische Schriften mit Ausnahme der Vita Nuova* (Leipzig, 1845; Theil ii, pp. 163–6). 2. G. A. Scartazzini (1879): (extracts) in *Dante Alighieri, seine Zeit, sein Leben und seine Werke* (Frankfurt a. M., 1879; pp. 365–6).—*English.* 1. C. S. Latham (1891): in *A Translation of Dante's Eleven Letters* (Boston, U.S.A., 1891; pp. 1–5). 2. P. H. Wicksteed (1904): in *Translation of the Latin Works of Dante Alighieri* (London, 1904; pp. 295–7). 3. Paget Toynbee: (*see below*, pp. 9–11).

AUTHENTICITY.—This letter, which is addressed to the Cardinal Niccolò da Prato on behalf of the Captain (Alessandro da Romena), Council (of which Dante was a member)[3], and

[1] The name of the editor is not given on the title-page; but it appears from the publishers' note prefixed to the edition of *Tutte le Opere di Dante Alighieri* issued at Florence by the same firm (G. Barbèra) in the present year (1919) that the editor was the late Prof. Arnaldo Della Torre. In this latter work the 1917 Barbèra text of the *Epistolae* is reproduced without alteration.

[2] An abstract of the letter, with a German translation of the last paragraph, was published by Witte in 1838 in his article *Neu aufgefundene Briefe des Dante Allighieri*, in *Blätter für literarische Unterhaltung* (Leipzig; Nos. 149–51), which was reprinted in the first volume of his *Dante-Forschungen* (Heilbronn, 1874; see pp. 475–6).

[3] Leonardo Bruni, in his *Vita di Dante*, says that after his banish-

whole party of the Bianchi of Florence, is not ascribed to Dante by name in the MS., but it was evidently, like the three Battifolle letters, considered by the compiler[1] of the collection to have been written by Dante; and this attribution is commonly accepted.[2]

DATE.—The Cardinal da Prato (Niccolò degli Albertini), Bishop of Ostia and Velletri, who had been appointed by Benedict XI 'pacificator in Tuscany, Romagna, the March of Treviso, and the parts adjacent' on Jan. 31, 1304[3], arrived in Florence in this capacity on March 10 following[4], and it is probable that this letter was addressed to him by Dante from Arezzo on behalf of the exiled Florentines either shortly before[5] or shortly after[6] his arrival in that city—at any rate in the spring or early summer of 1304, before his final de-

ment from Florence Dante decided to make common cause with the other Florentine exiles, who fixed their headquarters at Arezzo, where they remained until 1304: 'finalmente fermarono la sedia loro ad Arezzo, e quivi ferono campo grosso e crearono loro capitano il conte Alessandro da Romena; feron dodici consiglieri, del numero dei quali fu Dante: e di speranza in speranza stettero infino all' anno milletrecento quattro'. Bruni makes the same statement in his *Historia Florentina* (see Zenatti's *Dante e Firenze*, p. 363, where the passage is quoted).

[1] The original compiler of the collection was probably Boccaccio (see Zenatti, *op. cit.*, pp. 458–9; and *Bullettino della Società Dantesca Italiana*, N.S. x. 139).

[2] Not, however, by Del Lungo—see his *Dino Compagni e la sua Cronica*, vol. ii, pp. 585–96; and see below, p. 4, n. 2.

[3] See Potthast, *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum*, No. 25349. Niccolò, who was a Ghibelline (Villani, viii. 69), had been created Cardinal in the previous year; he took part in the coronation of Henry VII at Rome on June 29, 1312 (Villani, ix. 43; Dino Compagni, iii. 36); and was one of the Colonnesi party at Carpentras in 1314 (see note on date of *Epist.* viii); he died at Avignon on April 1, 1321, a few months before Dante.

[4] Dino Compagni, iii. 4; Villani, viii. 69.

[5] See Torraca, in *Bull. Soc. Dant. Ital.*, N.S. x. 126–7.

[6] See Zenatti, *op. cit.*, pp. 361–4.

parture from Florence at the beginning of June[1], after his failure to effect a pacification[2].

SUMMARY.—§ 1. The exiles acknowledge receipt of a letter from the Cardinal, and crave indulgence for their delay in replying to it, on the ground that the matters in question required careful consideration, and necessitated frequent consultation with other members of the league. § 2. They express their gratification at his promise to restore peace to Florence, which, they protest, was the sole object of their own recourse to arms; and declare that no words of theirs would be adequate to convey their thanks for so great a service to themselves and to Florence. § 3. They, further, acknowledge a communication by word of mouth from a messenger despatched to them by the Cardinal, charging them (as did his letter) to abstain from all acts of warfare, and to submit themselves unreservedly to his discretion; which they pledge themselves to do, as his messenger will inform him, and as they will cause to be published abroad in due form. § 4. In conclusion they pray that he may restore peace to Florence, and implore his protection for themselves and their coadjutors, finally pledging themselves once more to render strict obedience to his behests.

Reverendissimo in Christo Patri, dominorum suorum carissimo, domino Nicholao[a], *miseratione coelesti*

MS. = *Cod. Vat.-Palat. Lat.* 1729 O. = *Oxford Dante*

[a] MS. *Richolao*

[1] Dino Compagni (iii. 7) gives June 9 as the date of his departure; Villani (viii. 69) says June 4.

[2] Del Lungo, who does not impugn the authenticity of the letter as a genuine document, holds (*loc. cit.*) that it was written subsequently to the exiles' abortive attempt from Lastra to force an entry into Florence on July 20; and that consequently the writer could not have been Dante, who by that time, as seems to be certain, had separated himself from 'la compagnia malvagia e scempia' (*Par.* xvi. 62) of his fellow-exiles. But the arguments adduced in support of this contention are not convincing.

Ostiensi et Vallatrensi Episcopo, Apostolicae Sedis Legato, necnon in[a] *Tuscia, Romaniola, et Marchia Tervisina*[b], *et partibus circum adiacentibus Paciario per sacrosanctam Ecclesiam ordinato*[1], *devotissimi filii Alexander*[c][2] *Capitaneus*[3], *Consilium*[4] *et Universitas Partis Alborum de Florentia semetipsos devotissime atque promptissime recommendant.*

§ 1. Praeceptis salutaribus moniti[5] et Apostolica

[a] MS. *et* [b] O. *et Maritima, terris* [c] MS. *A.*

[1] The Bull of Benedict XI appointing the Cardinal Niccolò da Prato 'pacificator' is registered by Potthast in *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum* under date Jan. 31, 1304: 'Nicolaum Ostiensem episcopum in provinciis Tusciae, Romaniolae, marchiae Tarvisinae ac partibus circumiacentibus constituit pacis conservatorem ac paciarium' (No. 25349).

[2] In the MS. the name is not given at length, but only the initial. The use of the initial alone, for the name, in the 'salutatio' of a letter, except in the case of a Pope, was according to rule. In the *Formularius de modo prosandi* of Baumgartenberger (*c.* 1300) it is laid down: 'Nomen papae ex integro debet poni in salutacione . . . quod non fit in aliis. In aliis quidem pro persona mittentis seu etiam recipientis prima litera proprii nominis ponitur' (*apud* Rockinger, *Über Briefsteller und Formelbücher des Mittelalters*, p. 729). The omission of a title (such as *Comes* or *Dominus*) before Alessandro's name was equally according to rule:—'Nota quod in salutatione non debent poni nomina quae pertineant ad laudem mittentis, sed tantum recipientis' (*Guid. Fabe Summa Dictaminis.* Cap. vii. *De propria commendatione tollenda*; quoted by Novati in *Lectura Dantis: Opere Minori di Dante*, p. 309).

[3] The election by the Florentine exiles of the Count Alessandro da Romena as their captain is recorded by Bruni in his *Vita di Dante* (see above, p. 2, n. 3).

[4] Of this council, which consisted of twelve, Dante was a member (see Bruni, *loc. cit.*).

[5] These words are taken (as Dr. Edmund Gardner kindly informs me) from the prelude to the Lord's Prayer in the Canon of

Pietate[a 1] rogati, sacrae vocis contextui quem misistis, post cara nobis consilia, respondemus. Et si negligentiae sontes aut ignaviae censeremur ob iniuriam tarditatis, citra iudicium discretio sancta vestra praeponderet[2]; et quantis qualibusque consiliis et responsis, observata sinceritate consortii[3], nostra[b] fraternitas decenter procedendo indigeat, et examinatis quae tangimus[4], ubi forte contra debitam celeritatem defecisse despicimur, ut affluentia[c] vestrae Benignitatis[d 5] indulgeat deprecamur.

§ 2. Ceu filii non ingrati literas igitur piae Paternitatis[e] aspeximus, quae totius nostri[f] desiderii personantes exordia, subito mentes nostras subito[g] tanta laetitia perfuderunt, quantam nemo valeret seu verbo seu cogitatione metiri. Nam quam, fere prae[h] desiderio somniantes[6], inhiabamus patriae sanitatem, vestrarum literarum series[7] plusquam semel sub paterna monitione

[a] O. *pietate* [b] MS. *uestra* [c] MS. *affluentie* [d] O. *benignitatis* [e] O. *Paternitatis vestrae* [f] MS. *uestri* [g] O. omits *subito* [h] O. *pro*

the Mass: 'Praeceptis salutaribus moniti, et divina institutione formati, audemus dicere: *Pater noster* . . .'

[1] Instances of *Pietas* as a title are given by Du Cange: cf. l. 61 of this same letter.

[2] Cf. *Epist.* v. 40–2.

[3] This league ('compagnia') was formed in the spring of 1303; cf. Dino Compagni (ii. 32), where he gives a list of the members.

[4] Dr. Heberden has suggested to me that the awkward construction of the text as it stands may be due to the accidental misplacement (cf. *Epist.* viii. 154 n.) of these four words, which would come more naturally at the beginning of the clause; thus: 'et examinatis quae tangimus, quantis qualibusque consiliis etc.'.

[5] Cf. 'regia Benignitas', as a title of honour, in the first Battifolle letter (*Epist.* vii*).

[6] Cf. *V.E.* ii. 6, ll. 38–9.

[7] Cf. *Epist.* iii. 7.

polluxit[a]. Et ad quid aliud in civile bellum corruimus? Quid aliud candida nostra[b] signa[1] petebant? Et ad quid aliud enses et tela nostra[c] rubebant[d][2], nisi ut qui civilia iura temeraria voluptate[3] truncaverant, et iugo piae legis[4] colla submitterent, et ad pacem patriae cogerentur? Quippe nostrae intentionis cuspis[5] legitima de nervo quem tendebamus prorumpens,[6] quietem solam et libertatem populi Florentini petebat—petiit, atque petet[e] in posterum. Quod si tam gratissimo nobis beneficio vigilatis, et adversarios nostros, prout sancta conamina vestra[f] voluerint, ad sulcos bonae civilitatis intenditis remeare, quis vobis dignas grates persolvere[7]

[a] O. *pollicetur* [b] MS. *uestra* [c] MS. *uestra* [d] MS. *rubeant* [e] O. *petebat, petit, atque petet* [f] MS., O. *nostra*

[1] As tokens of peace; cf. Dino Compagni (iii. 10): 'Si schierarono . . . con le insegne bianche spiegate, e con ghirlande d' ulivo . . . gridando *pace* . . . Molto fu bello a vederli, con segno di pace, stando schierati'.

[2] A reference to the warfare in the Mugello in 1302 and 1303 recorded by Dino Compagni (ii. 29 ff.) and Villani (viii. 53, 60); see *Chronological Table* in *Appendix*.

[3] Parodi points out (*Bull. Soc. Dant. Ital.*, N.S. xix. 267) that *voluptas* (often written *volumptas*) was an old form of *voluntas*, and he quotes the expression 'ex voluptate testamenti'. Giovanni da Genova in his *Catholicon* (s. v. *voluntas*) says: '*Voluntas*, a *volvo -vis* dicitur hec *voluntas -tis* per *n*; et hec *voluptas -tis* per *p*. *Voluntas* per *n* est desiderium nondum adepte rei; set *voluptas* per *p* est rei adepte delectatio bone vel male.' (Cf. *Conv.* iv. 6, ll. 104–5.)

[4] Cf. *Epist.* vi. 30: 'iugum libertatis'.

[5] Cf. *Par.* xiii. 105: 'lo stral di mia intenzion'.

[6] Cf. *Purg.* xxv. 17–18; *Par.* iv. 60.

[7] *Aen.* i. 600–5: 'Grates persolvere dignas Non opis est nostrae, Dido, nec quidquid ubique est Gentis Dardaniae, magnum quae sparsa per orbem. Di tibi, si qua pios respectant numina, si quid Usquam iustitia est, et mens sibi conscia recti, Praemia digna ferant'; and ii. 536–8: 'Di, si qua est coelo pietas quae talia curet,

attentabit? Nec opis est nostrae, pater, nec quidquid Florentinae gentis reperitur in terris; sed si qua coelo est pietas quae talia remuneranda prospiciat, illa vobis praemia digna ferat[1], qui tantae urbis misericordiam induistis, et ad sedanda civium profana litigia festinatis.

§ 3. Sane, quum per sanctae religionis virum, fratrem L.[2], civilitatis persuasorem et pacis, praemoniti atque requisiti sumus instanter pro vobis, quemadmodum et ipsae vestrae literae continebant, ut ab omni guerrarum insultu cessaremus et usu, et nos ipsos in paternas manus vestras exhiberemus in totum, nos filii devotissimi vobis et pacis amatores et iusti, exuti iam gladiis, arbitrio vestro spontanea et sincera voluntate subimus, ceu relatu praefati vestri nuntii, fratris L., narrabitur, et per publica instrumenta solemniter celebrata liquebit.

§ 4. Idcirco Pietati[a 3] clementissimae vestrae filiali voce affectuosissime supplicamus, quatenus illam diu exagitatam Florentiam[4] sopore tranquillitatis et pacis irrigare velitis; eiusque semper populum defensantes nos et qui nostri sunt iuris, ut pius pater, commendatos habere; qui velut a patriae caritate[5] nunquam destitimus, sic de praeceptorum vestrorum limitibus nunquam exorbitare intendimus; sed semper tam debite quam devote quibuscumque vestris obedire mandatis.

[a] O. *pietati.*

Persolvant grates dignas, et praemia reddant Debita'. Compare the use made of the first passage in the first Battifolle letter (*Epist.* vii*), as well as in *Epist.* ii. 8; and cf. *Par.* iv. 121–3.

[1] See previous note.

[2] There is no clue to the identity of this individual.

[3] See above, p. 6, n. 1.

[4] Cf. *Purg.* vi. 149–51, where Dante compares Florence to a woman restlessly tossing on a bed of sickness.

[5] Cf. *Inf.* xiv. 1: 'la carità del natio loco'.

TRANSLATION.

To the most reverend Father in Christ, their most beloved Lord, the Lord Nicholas, by divine grace Bishop of Ostia and Velletri, Legate of the Apostolic See, and by Holy Church ordained Pacificator in Tuscany, Romagna, the March of Treviso, and the regions circumadjacent, his most devoted sons, Alexander the Captain, the Council, and the whole body of the White Party of Florence, commend themselves in all devotion and zeal.

§ 1. In submission to salutary admonishment, and in response to the Apostolic Holiness, after precious consultation, we make reply to the tenour of the sacred utterance which you have addressed to us. And should we be held guilty of negligence or of slothfulness by occasion of any prejudice due to our tardiness, may your holy discretion lean to the hither side of condemnation, regard being had to the number and nature of the consultations and communications necessary for the proper conduct of the affairs of our brotherhood, and for the observance of good faith with the league. But if, after consideration of the facts here submitted to you, we perchance be blamed as having been wanting in due diligence, we pray that the superabundant bounty of your Benignity may incline you to indulgence.

§ 2. As not ungrateful sons, therefore, we examined the letter of your gracious Paternity, which, in that it gives expression to the prelude of the whole matter of our desires, forthwith filled our minds with joy so exceeding great that by none could it be measured either in word or in thought. For the healing of our country, for which we have yearned, longing for it as it were even in our dreams, in the course of your letter, under the guise of fatherly admonition, is more than once promised us. And for what else did we plunge into civil war? What else did our white standards seek? And for what else were our swords and our spears dyed with crimson? Save that they, who at their own mad will and pleasure have maimed the body of

civil right, should submit their necks to the yoke of beneficent law, and should be brought by force to the observance of their country's peace! In sooth, the lawful shaft of our purpose, leaping from the bowstring we held stretched, sought solely the peace and liberty of the people of Florence—sought, and ever will seek. But if your vigilance is intent on a consummation so dear to us, and you are resolved, as the end of your holy endeavours, that our foes shall return to the furrows of good citizenship, who shall attempt to render adequate thanks to you? Not in our power is it, O Father, nor in that of any of the Florentine race throughout the world. But if there exists any goodness in heaven which looks upon such deeds as worthy of recompense, may it grant meet reward to you, who have clothed yourself with compassion for so great a city, and are hastening to compose the unholy strife of her citizens!

§ 3. Whereas, then, by brother L., a man of holy religion, and an advocate of good citizenship and of peace, we are urgently on your behalf admonished and required (which was likewise the import of your letter) to cease from all assault and act of war, and to commit ourselves wholly to your fatherly hands, we as sons most devoted to yourself, and as lovers of peace and justice, putting off our swords, of our own free will and without reservation submit ourselves to your judgement, as by the report of your messenger, the aforesaid brother L., shall be made known to you, and by public instruments in due form shall be declared abroad.

§ 4. With filial voice, therefore, we most affectionately implore that your most merciful Holiness may bedew with the calm of tranquillity and peace this Florence so long tempest-tossed; and that as a loving father you may keep under your protection ourselves, who have ever been the defenders of her people, and all who are under our authority; for as we have never been remiss in our love for our country, so we look never to stray beyond the bounds of your behests, but always in duty and devotion to be obedient to your commands, whatsoever they be.

EPISTOLA II

('*Patruus vester Alexander*')

To the Counts Oberto and Guido da Romena

[1304]

MSS.—This letter, like the preceding, has been preserved in one MS. only, *Cod. Vaticano-Palatino Latino 1729* (Cent. xiv) in the Vatican, in which it occurs sixth in order of the nine letters contained in the MS., being placed between the three Battifolle letters (*Epist.* vii*, vii**, vii***) and the letter to Moroello Malaspina (*Epist.* iv (iii)).[1]

Printed Texts.[2]—1. Torri (1842): *Epist.* ii (*op. cit.*, p. 8). 2. C. Troya (1856): in *Del Veltro Allegorico de' Ghibellini* (Napoli, 1856; pp. 304–6). 3. Fraticelli (1857): *Epist.* ii (*op. cit.*, pp. 446–8). 4. Giuliani (1882): *Epist.* ii (*op. cit.*, pp. 5–6). 5. Moore (1894): *Epist.* ii (*op. cit.*, p. 404). 6. Passerini (1910): *Epist.* ii (*op. cit.*, pp. 12–16). 7. Paget Toynbee (1912): (diplomatic transcript of the MS. text, together with collations of the various readings of the several printed editions of the letter, and list of proposed emendations in the Oxford text) in *Modern Language Review* (vol. vii, pp. 24–6). 8. [Della Torre] (1917): *Epist.* iv (*op. cit.*, pp. 238–40).

Translations.[3]—*Italian.* 1. Torri (1842): *op. cit.*, p. 9. 2. Fraticelli (1857): *op. cit.*, pp. 447–9. 3. Passerini (1910): *op. cit.*, pp. 13–17.—*German.*[4] 1. Kannegiesser (1845): *op. cit.*,

[1] *Epist.* iii in the *Oxford Dante*—see above, p. 1.

[2] For titles of editions referred to here as already quoted, see above, pp. 1–2.

[3] For titles of editions referred to here as already quoted, see above, p. 2.

[4] An abstract of the letter, with extracts from it in German, was published by Witte in 1838 in his article *Neu aufgefundene*

pp. 167–8. 2. Scartazzini (1879): in *Dante Alighieri, seine Zeit, sein Leben und seine Werke* (pp. 370–1).—*English.* 1. Latham (1891): *op. cit.*, pp. 35–6. 2. Wicksteed (1904): *op. cit.*, pp. 298–300. 3. Paget Toynbee (*see below*, pp. 17–18).

AUTHENTICITY.—The original title of this letter, which was written to the Counts Oberto and Guido, sons of Aghinolfo da Romena, to condole with them on the death of their uncle Alessandro, has not been preserved. The heading in the MS., which assigns the letter to Dante, and gives the names of the addressees, obviously did not form part of the original composition. The information which it supplies (which is independent of the letter itself) was no doubt derived by the original compiler[1] of the collection from an earlier authority no longer extant. The attribution of the letter to Dante is by no means universally accepted, chiefly on account of the difficulty of reconciling the terms in which Alessandro is spoken of in the letter with the severe condemnation of him by Dante in the *Inferno* (xxx. 76 ff.).[2] If Dante was the writer of the letter, we must suppose that he did not become acquainted with the facts referred to in the *Commedia* until some time after Alessandro's death.[3]

DATE.—The date to be assigned to the letter must remain conjectural, as that of the death of Alessandro da Romena has not been ascertained. There are plausible grounds, however, for supposing Alessandro's death to have taken place in the spring or summer of 1304, that is to say, between the date of the previous letter[4] and that of the attempt of the exiles on Florence from Lastra on July 20 of that year. In the

Briefe des Dante Allighieri (see above, p. 2, n. 1), which was reprinted in his *Dante-Forschungen* (see vol. i, pp. 476–8).

[1] Probably Boccaccio (see above, p. 3, n. 1).

[2] See, for instance, Del Lungo, *Dino Compagni e la sua Cronica*, vol. ii, p. 594.

[3] See Zenatti, *Dante e Firenze*, pp. 345–6; and Torraca, in *Bull. Soc. Dant. Ital.*, N.S. x. 137; and his *Comento* on *Inf.* xxx. 77.

[4] See above, p. 3.

accounts of this attempt[1] no mention is made of Alessandro, who, as captain of the league, should naturally have headed the expedition; whence it has been assumed that he died before that date. Further, if the writer of the letter was Dante, it follows that it must have been written before the same date, since the writer speaks of the death of Alessandro as having been a cruel blow to the hopes of the exiles, and to himself among them, who placed in Alessandro his hopes of a return to Florence (ll. 20–6); thus showing that the writer was in association with the exiles at the date of the letter, whereas Dante almost certainly had finally dissociated himself from the exiles before the attempt from Lastra of July 20.[2] The letter, then, if written by Dante, may be assigned with every appearance of probability to the spring or early summer of 1304.

SUMMARY.—§ 1. The writer declares his devotion for the deceased, whose memory he will ever cherish; recalls his virtues, showing how his character was in keeping with the device on his escutcheon; and deplores his death as a heavy blow to the hopes of his party, the writer included, who had looked to him to restore their fortunes. § 2. Yet consolation is to be found in the thought that his virtues have gained him a place of honour in the heavenly Jerusalem; wherefore those who now enter upon his earthly heritage are urged not to grieve for his loss overmuch, but to seek, as his heirs, to follow in his footsteps. § 3. In conclusion, the writer craves to be excused for his absence from the funeral rites, on the score of the poverty brought upon him by exile, which has deprived him of the means of making a fitting appearance on the occasion.

[1] Dino Compagni, iii. 10; Villani, viii. 72.

[2] See Torraca, in *Bull. Soc. Dant. Ital.*, N.S. x. 130–1.

[*Hanc epistolam scripsit Dantes Alagherii*[a] *Oberto et Guidoni, Comitibus de Romena*[1], *post mortem Alexandri, Comitis de Romena*[2], *patrui eorum, condolens illis*[b] *de obitu suo.*]

§ 1. Patruus vester Alexander, comes illustris, qui diebus proximis coelestem unde venerat secundum spiritum[3] remeavit ad patriam, dominus meus erat, et memoria eius usque quo sub tempore vivam dominabitur[c] mihi; quando magnificentia sua, quae super astra nunc affluenter dignis praemiis muneratur[d 4], me sibi ab annosis temporibus sponte sua fecit esse subiectum[e]. Haec equidem cunctis aliis virtutibus comitata in illo, suum nomen prae titulis[5] Italorum aereum[f] illustrabat. Et quid aliud heroica sua signa[6] dicebant, nisi 'scuticam[g] vitiorum fugatricem ostendimus'? Argenteas etenim scuticas[h] in purpureo deferebat[i] extrinsecus, et intrinsecus mentem in amore[j] virtutum vitia repellentem.

MS. = *Cod. Vat.-Palat. Lat.* 1729 O. = *Oxford Dante*

[a] MS. *allagerij*; O. *Alighierius.* [b] MS. *illius* [c] MS. *dominabatur* [d] MS. *me netatur* [e] O. *subditum* [f] O. *heroum* [g] MS. *senticam* [h] MS. *senticas* [i] MS. *deferrebat* [j] MS. *iam more*

[1] Oberto and Guido were the two eldest sons of Aghinolfo da Romena, elder brother of Alessandro da Romena, of the Conti Guidi (see Table accompanying Torraca's article on Aghinolfo da Romena in *Bull. Soc. Dant. Ital.*, N.S. xi. 107).

[2] As to the date of his death, see above, pp. 13–14.

[3] Cf. *Rom.* viii. 4; *Gal.* iv. 29.

[4] Cf. *Aen.* i. 605: 'Praemia digna ferant'; for other reminiscences of this same passage of the *Aeneid*, see note on *Epist.* i. 39–44.

[5] Cf. *Epist.* iii (iv). 11: 'ut titulum mei nominis ampliares'.

[6] Cf. the references to family cognizances in *Inf.* xvii. 52–73; xxvii. 41–50.

Doleat, ergo, doleat progenies maxima Tuscanorum, quae tanto viro fulgebat; et doleant omnes amici eius et subditi, quorum spem mors crudeliter verberavit; inter quos ultimos me miserum dolere oportet, qui, a patria pulsus et exul immeritus [1], infortunia mea continua cura rependens [2], spe [a] memet consolabar [b] in illo.

§ 2. Sed quamquam, sensualibus amissis [3], doloris amaritudo incumbat, si considerentur intellectualia quae supersunt, sane mentis oculis [4] lux dulcis consolationis exoritur. Nam qui virtutem [c] honorabat in terris, nunc

[a] MS. *infortunia mea rependens continuo cura spe*; O. *infortunia mea rependens, continuo cara spe* [b] MS. *consolabat* [c] O. *virtutes*

[1] Dante describes himself as 'exul immeritus' in the titles of his letters to Cino da Pistoja (*Epist.* iii (iv)), to the Princes and Peoples of Italy (*Epist.* v), to the Florentines (*Epist.* vi), and to the Emperor Henry VII (*Epist.* vii).

[2] The word *rependens* appears to have got displaced in the MS. Similar transpositions of words, due to carelessness, or sometimes to a 'cacoëthes corrigendi', on the part of the scribe, are frequent in MSS. An instance occurs in the text of *Epist.* vii, where (in l. 151) the Vatican MS. reads *in bella furialiter*, while the San Pantaleo and Venetian MSS. read *furialiter in bella* (see *Bull. Soc. Dant. Ital.*, N.S. xix. 259, n. 2, where numerous instances are given from the MSS. of the letters of Coluccio Salutati; see also the remarks upon 'pie' in Moore's *Studies in Dante*, iv, pp. 6, 33; and see note on *Epist.* viii. 154 below).

[3] The MS. reading violates the *cursus*, which may be restored by the transposition of the two words 'amíssis sensuálibus' (giving a form of *tardus*). Parodi suggests (*Bull. Soc. Dant. Ital.*, N.S. xix. 263) that a monosyllable has dropped out, and that 'sensuálibus nùnc amíssis' (*velox*) should be read. Perhaps the missing word is *iam* (in MS. *iā* or *iam*).

[4] Cf. *Mon.* ii. 1, ll. 17–18: 'mentis oculos infixi'; *Epist.* v. 163: 'aperite oculos mentis vestrae'; *Epist.* viii. 146–8: 'qualis est... ante mentales oculos affigatis oportet'; *Conv.* ii. 5, ll. 116–17: 'gli occhi della mente umana'; *Par.* x. 121: 'l'occhio della mente'.

a Virtutibus[a 1] honoratur in coelis, et qui Romanae aulae palatinus[2] erat in Tuscia, nunc regiae[3] sempi- 25
ternae aulicus praeelectus, in superna Ierusalem cum beatorum principibus gloriatur. Quapropter, carissimi domini mei, supplici exhortatione vos deprecor, quatenus modice dolere[b] velitis et sensualia postergare, nisi prout vobis exemplaria esse possunt; et quemad- 30
modum ipse iustissimus bonorum sibi vos instituit in

[a] O. *virtutibus* [b] MS. *dolore*

[1] That is, the Virtues, as one of the Orders of the Celestial Hierarchies (cf. *Par.* xxviii. 122; *Conv.* ii. 6, l. 51).

[2] The founder of the family of the Conti Guidi was made Count Palatine in Tuscany in the tenth century by the Emperor Otto I; cf. Villani, iv. 1: 'Questo Otto ammendò molto tutta Italia, e mise in pace e buono stato; e abbattè le forze de' tiranni; e al suo tempo assai de' suoi baroni rimasono signori in Toscana e in Lombardia. Intra gli altri fu il cominciamento de' conti Guidi, il quale il primo ebbe nome Guido, che 'l fece conte Palatino, e diegli il contado di Modigliana in Romagna . . .' The title was regularly employed as part of the Counts' official description, and as such occurs repeatedly in the *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum*; e. g. a bull of Innocent IV (Oct. 28, 1243) refers to 'Guidonem dictum Guerram Comitem palatinum Tusciae' (ed. Potthast, No. 11166); Honorius IV (Feb. 9, 1287): 'Guidoni de Battifollis Comiti Tusciae palatino concedit . . .' (Potth. No. 22557); Boniface VIII (Feb. 14, 1300): 'Tegrino comiti in Tuscia palatino ad sedandas discordias inter eum ex parte una et Manfredum ac Giuglielmum fratres et Guidonem Novellum nepotem ipsorum comites in Tuscia palatinos . . .' (Potth. No. 24911), etc., etc. Cf. the titles of the three Battifolle letters (*Epist.* vii*, vii**, vii***), in which the Countess of Battifolle (a branch of the Conti Guidi) is described as 'Comitissa in Tuscia Palatina'.

[3] On the distinction between *aula* and *regia*, the two terms here used, cf. the *Graecismus* of Ebrardus Bethuniensis, xii. 52–3: '*Aula* domus comitum, sed *regia* mansio regum, Induperatorum sunt celsa *palatia* ditum.'

haeredes,[1] sic [a] ipsi vos, tamquam proximiores ad illum, mores eius egregios induatis.

§ 3. Ego autem, praeter haec, me vestrum vestrae discretioni excuso de absentia lacrymosis exequiis; quia nec negligentia neve ingratitudo me tenuit, sed inopina paupertas quam fecit exilium. Haec etiam, velut effera persecutrix, equis armisque vacantem, iam suae captivitatis me detrusit in antrum, et nitentem cunctis exsurgere viribus, huc usque praevalens, impia retinere molitur.[2]

[a] MS. *si*

Translation

[*This letter was written by Dante Alighieri to the Counts Oberto and Guido da Romena, after the death of their uncle, Count Alessandro da Romena, to condole with them on his decease.*]

§ 1. Your uncle, the illustrious Count Alessandro, who in these last days returned, after the spirit, to the heavenly fatherland whence he came, was my Lord, and his memory will have dominion over me so long as my life shall last in this world; for his nobility of soul, which now is richly recompensed with meet rewards beyond the stars, for long years past, as he willed, made me his servant. And verily this quality, accompanied as it was in him by all the other virtues, caused his name to stand out, as it were in bronze, above the fame of other Italians. And what else did his heroic escutcheon proclaim, but that 'we display the scourge that drives away vice'? for as

[1] Torraca points out (*Bull. Soc. Dant. Ital.*, N.S. x. 131, n. 1) that it was doubtless as the heirs of Alessandro that Dante addressed his letter of condolence to Oberto and Guido, rather than to their father Aghinolfo.

[2] For other references to the poverty brought upon Dante by his exile, cf. *Conv.* i. 3. ll. 19–37; *Par.* xvii. 58–60; *Epist.* x. 600–1.

his outward blazon he bore silver scourges on a purple field,[1] and inwardly a mind repellent of vice in its love of virtue. Lament, therefore, lament, thou noblest of the houses of Tuscany, that shone with the light of so great a man! Lament, all ye his friends and servants, whose hope death hath so cruelly stricken; and among the last, woe is me! must I too lament, who, driven from my country, in undeserved exile, was wont, as I brooded over my unhappy fate with unceasing anxiety, to console myself with the hope which I rested in him.

§ 2. But although the bitterness of grief weigh upon us for the loss of corporeal things, yet, when we consider the intellectual things which remain, surely before the eyes of the mind must arise the light of sweet consolation. For he, by whom virtue was honoured on earth, is now held in honour of the Virtues in heaven; and he who was a Palatine of the Court of Rome in Tuscany now glories as a chosen courtier with the princes of the Blest in the everlasting palace of the Jerusalem which is above. Wherefore, my beloved Lords, with humble exhortation I beseech you to grieve not overmuch, and to put behind you bodily concerns, save in so far as they may serve you for examples; and as he himself, a most just man, appointed you to be the heirs of his possessions, so do you, as those nearest to him, clothe yourselves with his most excellent qualities.

§ 3. But I must add a word on my own behalf, in appeal to your judgement, to excuse myself, as your servant, for my absence from the mournful ceremony; for it was neither neglect nor ingratitude which kept me away, but the unlooked-for poverty brought about by exile. Poverty, like a vindictive fury, has thrust me, deprived of horses and arms, into her prison den, where she has set herself relentlessly to keep me in durance; and though I struggle with all my strength to get free, she has hitherto prevailed against me.

[1] Heraldically, 'purpure, scourges argent'.

EPISTOLA III (IV)[1]

('*Eructuavit incendium*')

To a Pistojan Exile

[*c.* 1305]

MSS.—This letter has been preserved in one MS. only, *Cod.* xxix. 8[2] in the Laurentian Library at Florence, which contains three letters attributed to Dante, viz. (in the order in which they occur in the MS.): to the Italian Cardinals (*Epist.* viii); to a Pistojan Exile; and to a Friend in Florence (*Epist.* ix). This MS., which was executed probably about the year 1348, belonged to Boccaccio, and the portion containing the three letters attributed to Dante, and certain other pieces,[3] is in his handwriting.[4]

Printed Texts.[5]—1. Witte (1827): *Epist.* iv, in *Dantis Allighierii Epistolae quae exstant*[6] (Patavii, 1827; pp. 14–16). 2. Fraticelli (1840): *Epist.* i, in *Dantis Alighierii Epistolae quae exstant* (Florentiae, 1840; pp. 202–8). 3. Torri (1842): *Epist.* iv (*op. cit.*, pp. 20–2). 4. L. Muzzi (1845): *Epist.* ii, in *Tre Epistole Latine di Dante Allighieri restituite a più vera lezione* (Prato, 1845; pp. 19–22). 5. Fraticelli (1857): *Epist.* iv, in *Opere Minori di Dante Alighieri* (vol. iii, pp. 458–60). 6. Giuliani (1882): *Epist.* iv (*op. cit.*, pp. 10–12). 7. Moore (1894): *Epist.* iv (*op. cit.*, p. 405). 8. Passerini (1910): *Epist.* iv (*op. cit.*, pp. 22–6). 9. E. G. Parodi (1912): (diplomatic transcript of the MS. text[7])

[1] *Epist.* iv in the *Oxford Dante* (see below, p. 21, n. 4).

[2] The well-known so-called *Zibaldone Boccaccesco.*

[3] Including the letter of Frate Ilario to Uguccione della Faggiuola and the Latin poetical correspondence between Dante and Giovanni del Virgilio.

[4] See Hauvette, *Notes sur des manuscrits autographes de Boccace à la Bibliothèque Laurentienne*, pp. 50 ff.

[5] For titles of editions referred to here as already quoted, see above, pp. 1–2.

[6] Privately printed, 60 copies only.

[7] Supplied by E. Rostagno.

in *Bullettino della Società Dantesca Italiana* (N. S. xix. 271–2). 10. Paget Toynbee (1917): (diplomatic transcript of the MS. text,[1] together with collations of the various readings of the several printed editions of the letter, and a list of proposed emendations in the Oxford text) in *Modern Language Review* (vol. xii, pp. 39–41). 11. Paget Toynbee (1917): (emended text) in *Modern Language Review* (vol. xii, pp. 41–2). 12. [Della Torre] (1917): *Epist.* vii (*op. cit.*, pp. 244–6).

Translations.[2]—*Italian.* 1. Fraticelli (1840): *op. cit.*, pp. 203–5. 2. M. Missirini (1842): in Torri, *op. cit.*, pp. 21–3. 3. Muzzi (1845): *op. cit.*, pp. 32–3. 4. Fraticelli (1857): (revised trans.) *op. cit.*, pp. 459–61. 5. Passerini (1910): *op. cit.*, pp. 23–7.—*German.* Kannegiesser (1845): *op. cit.*, pp. 172–4.—*English.* 1. Latham (1891): *op. cit.*, pp. 129–32. 2. Wicksteed (1904): *op. cit.*, pp. 305–6. 3. Paget Toynbee (1917): in *Modern Language Review*, vol. xii, pp. 42–4 (*see below*, pp. 27–8).

Authenticity.—The writer of the letter, who describes himself in the title as 'Florentinus exul immeritus'—a description which occurs in the titles of three undoubted letters of Dante, viz. to the Princes and Peoples of Italy (*Epist.* v), to the Florentines (*Epist.* vi), and to the Emperor Henry VII (*Epist.* vii), as well as in the text of the letter to the Counts Oberto and Guido da Romena (*Epist.* ii. 24)—was first identified as Dante by Carlo Troya in 1826 in his *Del Veltro Allegorico di Dante* (pp. 204–5), and this identification has been generally accepted, as has that of the Pistojan exile with Dante's friend Cino da Pistoja.

Date.—This letter was formerly referred to a date subsequent to 1307, in which year Cino was supposed to have been expelled

[1] This was made from the facsimile of the MS. published at Florence in 1914 in (belated) commemoration of the sixth centenary of the birth of Boccaccio (1313)—*Lo Zibaldone Boccaccesco Mediceo Laurenziano* (*Plut.* xxix. 8). In Firenze, presso Leo S. Olschki. MCMXIV.

[2] For titles of editions referred to here as already quoted, see above, p. 2.

from Pistoja with the Bianchi; but as the result of recent research it appears that Cino belonged, not to the Bianchi, but to the Neri, and that his exile from Pistoja coincided with that of the Neri from 1301 to 1306.[1] Consequently, if Cino be the Pistojan exile of the title, the letter must have been written during the period between those two dates—probably in 1305 or 1306[2]—and certainly before the letter to Moroello Malaspina,[3] which has hitherto been placed third (instead of fourth as now) in order of the letters of Dante.[4]

SUMMARY.—§ 1. Cino having inquired[5] as to whether the soul can pass 'from passion to passion'; § 2. Dante replies that the answer is in the affirmative, as will be found in the poem[6] subjoined to his letter. § 3. That it is so is proved by

[1] See A. Corbellini, *Cino da Pistoja: Amore ed Esilio* (Pavia, 1898); and M. Barbi in *Bull. Soc. Dant. Ital.*, N.S. vi. 209, 247.

[2] See Zenatti, *Dante e Firenze*, pp. 245 ff.

[3] See below, pp. 31–2.

[4] In the present work, in order so far as possible to avoid confusion in the case of these two letters, the old numeration has been given (in brackets) as well as the new.

[5] In his sonnet beginning 'Dante, quando per caso s'abbandona' (see below, p. 26, n. 1).

[6] This poem has been identified with the sonnet, 'Io sono stato con Amore insieme' (*Son.* xxxvi in the *Oxford Dante*), which in accordance with the convention of the day is in the same rhymes as that of Cino (see below, p. 26, n. 1). This correspondence between Dante and Cino on the subject of the mutability of love was known to Cecco d'Ascoli (1257–1327), who refers to it in his *Acerba*; he holds that love 'Non si disparte altro che per morte', and he takes upon him to confute Dante's theory:—

> Ma Dante rescrivendo a misser Cino,
> Amor non vide in questa pura forma,
> Chè tosto avria cambiato suo latino:
> *Io sono con Amore stato insieme.*
> Qui pose Dante, che nuovi speroni
> Sentir può il fianco con la nuova speme.
> Contra tal detto dico quel ch'io sento,
> Formando filosofiche rasoni —
> Se Dante poi le solve, io son contento.
>
> (IV. i, ll. 64–72.)

experience, and may be confirmed by reason, as he proceeds to show; § 4. and by authority, namely that of Ovid in his tale of Apollo and Leucothoë. § 5. In conclusion, he exhorts Cino to arm himself with patience against 'the slings and arrows of outrageous fortune' in exile.

Exulanti Pistoriensi Florentinus exul immeritus per tempora diuturna salutem et perpetuae caritatis ardorem.

§ 1. Eructuavit[a 1] incendium tuae dilectionis verbum ad me confidentiae vehementis,[b 2] in quo consuluisti, carissime, utrum de passione in passionem possit anima transformari[3]: de passione in passionem, dico, secundum eandem potentiam et obiecta diversa numero sed non specie; quod, quamvis ex ore tuo iustius prodire debuerat, nihilominus me illius auctorem facere voluisti, ut[c] in declaratione rei nimium dubitatae titulum[4] mei nominis ampliares. Hoc etenim, quum[d] cognitum[e 5],

MS. = *Cod. Laurent.* xxix. 8 O. = *Oxford Dante*

[a] O. *Eructavit* [b] MS. *confidentie uehementis ame*; O. *c. v. ad me* [c] MS. *et* [d] MS., O. *quam* [e] O. *iucundum*

[1] Cf. *Psalm* xliv. 2. Both *eructo* and *eructuo* are given (s. v. *ructus*) by Giovanni da Genova in the *Catholicon*: '*ructo, -as*, idest ructum facere, vel emittere; et exprimere. Unde *ructuo, -as* in eodem sensu . . . et componitur, ut . . . *eructo, -as, eructuo, -as*'. Both forms occur in the *De Vulgari Eloquentia* (in the MSS. as well as in the *editio princeps*), viz. *eructuo* in i. 11, l. 38; and *eructo* in ii. 4, l. 17.

[2] The MS. reading violates the *cursus*, which is rectified by the transposition in the text, 'confidéntiae vèheméntis' (*velox*).

[3] Cino's sonnet in which the inquiry was made is given below (see p. 26, n. 1).

[4] Cf. *Epist.* ii. 12.

[5] R. Sabbadini proposes to read *quam congruum* (see *Bull. Soc. Dant. Ital.*, N.S. xxii. 62; and *Mod. Lang. Rev.* vii. 359). The reading

quam acceptum, quamque[a] gratum exstiterit, absque importuna diminutione verba non caperent[b 1]: ideo, causa conticentiae huius inspecta, ipse quod non exprimitur metiaris.

§ 2. Redditur, ecce, sermo Calliopeus[2] inferius, quo sententialiter canitur, quamquam transumptive more poëtico signetur intentum, amorem[c 3] huius posse torpescere atque[d] denique interire, nec non huius (quod corruptio unius generatio sit alterius[4]) in anima reformari.[e 5]

§ 3. Et fides huius, quamquam ab experientia sit persuasum,[f 6] ratione potest et auctoritate muniri.

[a] MS. *quam quam* [b] MS. *carent*; O. *capiunt* [c] O. *signetur, intentum amorem* [d] MS. *acque* [e] O. *nec non quod corruptio unius generatio sit alterius in anima reformati* [f] MS., O. *quamquam sit ab experientia persuasum*

adopted in the text, *quum cognitum*, is an emendation due to Della Torre (see Parodi, in *Bull. Soc. Dant. Ital.*, N.S. xxv. 89).

[1] This emendation, which occurred independently to Sabbadini and to myself (see *Mod. Lang. Rev.* vii. 359), is confirmed by *Epist.* vi. 18, where the identical phrase occurs again.

[2] Namely, the subjoined sonnet.

[3] This emendation of the *textus receptus* is also due to Sabbadini, who suggests (*loc. cit.*) that *intentum* (in the sense of 'meaning') is the subject of *signetur*, and not an adjective qualifying *amorem*, as usually taken. This correction also rectifies the *cursus* (giving a *planus* 'signétur inténtum'), which is violated by the clausula, 'poetico signetur', of the old reading.

[4] Aristotle, *De Gen. et Corrupt.* i. 3.

[5] The construction is: 'canitur . . . amorem huius ('for one object') posse . . . interire, nec non [amorem] huius ('for another object') . . . in anima reformari'. For this use of *hic . . . hic*, cf. *Mon.* iii. 16, ll. 65–6 ('haec . . . haec'); *V.E.* ii. 12, ll. 87–8 ('hi . . . hi'); *Epist.* x. 3–4 ('hos . . . hos').

[6] The MS. reading violates the *cursus*, which is rectified by the transposition in the text, '(ab experi)éntia sìt persuásum' (*velox*).

Omnis namque[a] potentia quae post corruptionem unius[b] actus non deperit, naturaliter reservatur in alium: ergo potentiae sensitivae, manente organo, per corruptionem unius[b] actus non depereunt, et naturaliter reservantur[c] in alium. Quum igitur potentia concupiscibilis, quae sedes amoris est, sit potentia sensitiva, manifestum est quod post corruptionem unius passionis, qua in actum reducitur, in alium reservatur. Maior et minor propositio[d] syllogismi, quarum facilis[e] patet introitus, tuae diligentiae relinquantur[f] probandae.

§ 4. Auctoritatem[g] vero Nasonis, quarto *De Rerum Transformatione*, quae directe atque ad literam[h] propositum respicit, superest ut intueare[i1]; †scilicet ubi ait auctor†[j2] (et quidem[k] in fabula trium sororum contemtricium[l] in[m] semine Semeles[3]) ad Solem loquens (qui

[a] O. *enim* [b] O. *eius* [c] MS. *reseruatur* [d] MS. *prepositio* [e] O. *facile* [f] MS. *relinquatur* [g] MS. *auctoritate* [h] MS. *lictera* [i] MS. *super ut intueare*; O. *sedulus intueare* [j] MS. *subtraxit aut* [k] MS. *equidem* [l] MS. *contentricum* [m] O. *contemtricium Numinis in*

[1] Witte took the MS. reading to be *sed ut intueare*, out of which he evolved *sedulus intueare*. But the actual MS. reading is *super ut intueare*, for which I propose to read, with Sabbadini (*loc. cit.*) and Pistelli (*Bull. Soc. Dant. Ital.*, N.S. xxiv. 60), *superest ut intueare*, as above.

[2] The reading in the text is an ingenious conjecture of Witte's, who supposes that the original reading (corrupted in the MS. to *subtraxit aut*) was *s. ubi ait aut*. Sabbadini (*loc. cit.*) proposes to read 'superest ut (or 'sequitur ut') intueare sub transitu; ait equidem in fabula . . .'.

[3] That is, Bacchus; the allusion is to the story told by Ovid (*Metam.* iv. 1–35, 389–415) of the three daughters (Alcithoë, Arcippe, and Leucippe) of Minyas of Boeotia, who refused to join in the worship of Bacchus during his festival, and spent the time weaving instead, whereupon they were changed into bats, and their work into a vine.

nymphis aliis derelictis atque neglectis in quas prius exarserat[a], noviter Leucothoën[1] diligebat): 'Quid nunc Hyperione[b] nate',[2] et reliqua.[3]

§ 5. Sub hoc, frater carissime, ad potentiam[c] quod[d] contra Rhamnusiae[e 4] spicula sis patiens[f] te exhortor. Perlege, deprecor, *Fortuitorum Remedia*[5], quae ab inclytissimo philosophorum Seneca nobis, velut a patre filiis ministrantur; et illud de memoria sane[g] tua non defluat[6]: 'Si de mundo fuissetis, mundus quod suum erat diligeret.'[7]

[a] MS. *exarsera* [b] MS. *operione* [c] MS. *prootentiam*
[d] MS. *quam* [e] MS. *raynusie* [f] MS. *paties* [g] MS. *sana*

[1] Daughter of the Babylonian king Orchamus; the reference is to Ovid's account (*Metam.* iv. 192 ff.) of how Apollo (as the Sun) was taunted with having deserted all the other nymphs whom he had loved, and with being enslaved by Leucothoë alone.

[2] That is, Apollo (the Sun).

[3]
Quid nunc, Hyperione nate,
Forma colorque tibi radiataque lumina prosunt?
Nempe tuis omnes qui terras ignibus uris,
Ureris igne novo; quique omnia cernere debes
Leucothoën spectas, et virgine figis in una
Quos mundo debes oculos . . .
Diligis hanc unam; nec te Clymeneque Rhodosque,
Nec tenet Aeaeae genetrix pulcherrima Circes,
Quaeque tuos Clytie quamvis despecta petebat
Concubitus, ipsoque illo grave vulnus habebat
Tempore. Leucothoë multarum oblivia fecit. . . .
(*Metam.* iv. 192–7, 204–8.)

[4] Name applied to Nemesis, the goddess of retributive justice (Ovid, *Metam.* iii. 406; xiv. 694; *Trist.* v. 8, 9), from a celebrated temple in her honour at Rhamnus in Attica.

[5] The *Liber ad Galionem de Remediis Fortuitorum* of Martinus Dumiensis, Archbishop of Braga (d. *c.* 580), commonly in the Middle Ages attributed to Seneca.

[6] Cf. the similar phrase in *Epist.* vii. 76–7: 'ab Augusti circumspectione non defluat'.

[7] *John* xv. 19.

[*Sonetto*]

[Io sono stato con Amore insieme
Dalla circolazion del Sol mia nona,
E so com' egli affrena e come sprona,
E come sotto a lui si ride e geme.
Chi ragione o virtù contro gli spreme
Fa come quei che 'n la tempesta suona,
Credendo far colà dove si tuona
Esser le guerre de' vapori sceme.
Però nel cerchio della sua balestra
Liber arbitrio giammai non fu franco,
Sì che consiglio invan vi si balestra:
Ben può con nuovi spron punger lo fianco,
E qual che sia 'l piacer ch' ora n' addestra,
Seguitar si convien se l' altro è stanco.][1]

[1] See above, p. 21, n. 6; Cino's sonnet, to which the above is the reply, is as follows:—

Dante, quando per caso s'abbandona
Il disio amoroso de la speme,
Che nascer fanno gli occhi del bel seme,
Di quel piacer, che dentro si ragiona,
I' dico poi se morte gli perdona;
Se poi ella tien più delle duo streme?
L'alma gentil, la qual morir non teme,
Se tramutar si può 'n altra persona?
E ciò mi fa quella, che è maestra
Di tutte cose, e per quel ch' io sent' anco
L'entrata lascio per la ria finestra;
Per lei che 'l mio creder non è manco
Che prima stato sia, o dentro, o estra,
Rotto mi sono ogni mie ossa e fianco.

(ed. Ciampi, *Son.* cxxix.)

This sonnet, the text of which apparently is corrupt, was translated by Rossetti in *Dante and his Circle*, p. 187.

TRANSLATION

To the Exile from Pistoja a Florentine undeservedly in exile wishes health through long years and the continuance of fervent love.

§ 1. The warmth of your affection has addressed to me an expression of signal confidence, wherein, my dearest friend, you put the question whether the soul can pass from passion to passion; that is to say, from one passion to another, the nature of the passion remaining the same, but the objects being different, not in kind, but in identity. Although the answer would more properly have come from your own lips, you have nevertheless chosen to make me the arbiter, to the end that by the solution of this much debated question you might enhance the renown of my name. How welcome, how grateful this was to me when I heard of it, words could not convey without falling lamentably short of the truth; wherefore you, being acquainted with the cause of my reticence, must yourself take the measure of what I have left unexpressed.

§ 2. Behold, there is given below a discourse in the diction of Calliope, wherein the Muse declares in set phrase (though, as poets use, the meaning is conveyed under a figure) that love for one object may languish and finally die away, and that (inasmuch as the corruption of one thing is the begetting of another) love for a second may take shape in the soul.

§ 3. And the truth of this, although it is proved by experience, may be confirmed by reason and authority. For every faculty which is not destroyed after the consummation of one act is naturally reserved for another. Consequently the faculties of sense, if the organ survives, are not destroyed by the consummation of one act, but are naturally reserved for another. Since, then, the appetitive faculty, which is the seat of love, is a faculty of sense, it is manifest that after the exhaustion of the passion by which it was brought into operation it is reserved for another. The major and minor propositions

of the syllogism, the entrance to which lies open without difficulty, may be left to your diligence for proof.[1]

§ 4. It remains to consider the authority of Ovid in the fourth book of the *Metamorphoses*, which bears directly and literally upon our proposition; †namely, the passage wherein the author says†[2] (in the story of the three sisters who were contemptuous of the son of Semele), addressing the Sun, who after he had deserted and neglected other nymphs of whom he had previously been enamoured, was newly in love with Leucothoë, 'What now, Son of Hyperion', and what follows.

§ 5. In conclusion, dearest brother, I exhort you, so far as in you lies,[3] to arm yourself with patience against the darts of Nemesis. Read, I beg you, the *Remedies against Fortune*, which are offered to us, as it were by a father to his sons, by that most famous philosopher Seneca; and especially let that saying not pass from your memory: 'If ye were of the world, the world would love his own.'

[*Sonnet.*]

[I have passed my days in fellowship with Love
E'er since the circling Sun my ninth year closed;
I know how he can ply or curb or spur,
And how folk laugh or groan who are his thralls.

[1] The argument appears to be as follows: Every faculty not destroyed by one act is reserved for another act; but, every faculty of sense (if the organ survives) is a faculty not destroyed by one act; therefore, every faculty of sense (if the organ survives) is reserved for another act; but, the appetitive faculty is a faculty of sense; therefore, the appetitive faculty (if the organ survives) is reserved for another act.

[2] This sentence is inserted conjecturally in the Latin text (see above, p. 24, n. 2).

[3] 'Ad potentiam'; Fraticelli takes the meaning to be: 'with regard to, à propos of faculties' ('dopo di questo che le nostre potenze risguarda').

Reason or virtue who 'gainst him puts forth
  Is like to one should pipe amid the storm,
  And think thereby to quell the thunder's rage,
  And calm the warring elements on high.
Wherefore within the compass of his darts
  Free-will for ever in his danger lies;
  'Gainst him in vain will counsel's shaft be sped.
For with new spur his victim's flank he'll ply;
  And be the new-born passion what it may,
  This will be master, if the other pall.]

EPISTOLA IV (III)[1]

(*'Ne lateant dominum'*)

To the Marquis Moroello Malaspina

[*c.* 1309]

MSS.—This letter, like that to the Cardinal Niccolò da Prato (*Epist.* i) and that to the Counts of Romena (*Epist.* ii), has been preserved only in the Cent. xiv Vatican MS. (*Cod. Vat.-Palat. Lat. 1729*), in which it occurs seventh in order of the nine letters contained in the MS., being placed between *Epist.* ii and *Epist.* i.[2]

Printed Texts.[3]—1. Witte (1842): in *Dante Alighieri's lyrische Gedichte, übersetzt und erklärt von K. L. Kannegiesser und K. Witte* (Leipzig, 1842; Part ii, pp. 235–6). 2. Torri (1842): *Epist.* iii (*op. cit.*, p. 12). 3. Troya (1856): in *Del Veltro Allegorico de' Ghibellini* (pp. 307–8). 4. Fraticelli (1857): *Epist.* iii (*op. cit.*, p. 454). 5. Giuliani (1882): *Epist.* iii (*op. cit.*, pp. 6–7). 6. Moore (1894): *Epist.* iii (*op. cit.*, pp. 404–5). 7. Zenatti (1901): in *Dante e Firenze* (pp. 431–2). 8. F. Torraca (1903): in *Bullettino della Società Dantesca Italiana* (N.S., x. 143).

[1] *Epist.* iii in the *Oxford Dante* (see above, p. 21, n. 4).

[2] See above, p. 1.

[3] For titles of editions referred to here as already quoted, see above, pp. 1–2.

9. F. Novati (1909): (with photographic reproduction from the MS.) in *Dante e la Lunigiana* (Milano, 1909; pp. 519–20). 10. Passerini (1910): *Epist.* iii (*op. cit.*, pp. 18–20). 11. Paget Toynbee (1912): (diplomatic transcript of the MS. text, together with collations of the various readings of the several printed editions of the letter, and a list of proposed emendations in the Oxford text) in *Modern Language Review* (vol. vii, pp. 27–9). 12. [Della Torre] (1917): *Epist.* vi. (*op. cit.*, pp. 243–4).

TRANSLATIONS.[1]—*Italian.* 1. Torri (1842): *op. cit.*, p. 13. 2. Fraticelli (1857): *op. cit.*, p. 455. 3. G. Pascoli (1902): in *La Mirabile Visione* (Messina, 1902; pp. 362–3). 4. Passerini (1910): *op. cit.*, pp. 19–21.—*German.* 1. Kannegiesser (1845): *op. cit.*, pp. 171–2. 2. C. Krafft (1859): in *Dante Alighieri's lyrische Gedichte und poetischer Briefwechsel, Text, Übersetzung und Erklärung* (Regensburg, 1859; pp. 393–4). 3. Scartazzini (1879): (extracts) in *Dante Alighieri, seine Zeit, sein Leben und seine Werke* (p. 341).—*English.* 1. Latham (1891): *op. cit.*, pp. 65–6. 2. Wicksteed (1904): *op. cit.*, pp. 301–2. 3. C. H. Grandgent (1917): (ll. 12–38) in *The Ladies of Dante's Lyrics* (Cambridge, U.S.A., 1917; pp. 97–8). 4. Paget Toynbee: (*see below*, pp. 39–40).

AUTHENTICITY.—As in the case of *Epist.* ii, the original title of the letter has not been preserved, the superscription in the MS., which assigns the letter to Dante, and gives the name of his correspondent, being due to an earlier compiler or copyist of the collection contained in the MS.[2] The attribution to Dante, though decisively rejected by some critics,[3] is now very generally accepted, the internal evidence being strongly in favour of its authenticity.[4] The letter was known to

[1] For titles of editions referred to here as already quoted, see above, p. 2.

[2] See above, p. 12.

[3] See, for instance, Zingarelli in *Rassegna critica della Letteratura Italiana* (1899), iv. 3 ff.; and his *Dante*, pp. 222–3.

[4] See Zenatti, *Dante e Firenze*, pp. 430–62; and Novati, in *Dante e la Lunigiana*, pp. 507–42.

Boccaccio, who incorporated portions of it in a letter of his own ('Ignoto Militi', beginning, 'Mavortis miles extrenue'[1]), written in 1338 or 1339, within twenty years of Dante's death.[2] It was also known to Sennuccio Del Bene (d. 1349), who utilized it (as well as Dante's sonnet, 'Io sono stato con Amore insieme', which accompanied his letter to Cino da Pistoja[3]) in a sonnet introducing a *canzone*,[4] which contains imitations of the *canzone* of Dante accompanying the present letter.[5]

DATE.—That Dante was in relations with the Malaspini in Lunigiana in the autumn of 1306 is known from extant documents dated October 6 of that year.[6] From these it appears that he then, as the guest of Franceschino Malaspina at Sarzana,[7] acted as procurator for the Malaspina family in their negotiations for peace with their neighbour, the Bishop of Luni, which by his means was successfully concluded. The duration of his stay with the Malaspini is uncertain, but it probably did not last beyond the summer of 1307. The present

[1] The text of Boccaccio's letter is printed in full, with the parallel passages from Dante's letter, by Vandelli in *Bull. Soc. Dant. Ital.*, N.S. vii. 64–7, from the Laurentian MS. xxix. 8, the only MS. in which it has been preserved, and in which, as Hauvette has shown in his *Notes sur des manuscrits autographes de Boccace à la Bibliothèque Laurentienne* (pp. 22 ff.), it is written in Boccaccio's own hand.

[2] Boccaccio was at this time a young man of five-and-twenty; as to his motive in utilizing the letter, see Zenatti, *op. cit.*, pp. 458–9; and Torraca, in *Bull. Soc. Dant. Ital.*, N.S. x. 139–40.

[3] See above, p. 21, n. 6.

[4] Both sonnet and *canzone* are printed in *Rime di Trecentisti Minori*, ed. G. Volpi (Firenze, 1907), pp. 35–7.

[5] See Parodi, in *Bull. Soc. Dant. Ital.*, N.S. xvii. 79–80.

[6] The documents have been several times printed, e.g. by Fraticelli in his *Vita di Dante*, pp. 197–204; and in *Report XI (1892) of the Cambridge (U.S.A.) Dante Society*, pp. 15–24.

[7] This visit to the Malaspini, 'the honoured race which ceases not to be adorned with the glory of the purse and of the sword', is foretold to Dante by Franceschino's first cousin, Currado Malaspina, whom he meets in Purgatory (*Purg.* viii. 118–39).

letter, accompanied by a *canzone*,[1] describing how the writer had been overcome by a tempestuous passion for a lady he had met in the valley of the Arno, was written, apparently from the Casentino, after Dante's departure from Lunigiana, perhaps in 1308, but at any rate before 1310.[2]

ADDRESSEE.—At the time the letter was written there were several members of the Malaspina family who bore the name of Moroello[3]; but Dante's correspondent is usually identified with Moroello III, the Guelf captain, 'il vapor di Valdimagra' of *Inf.* xxiv. 145, the son of Manfredi da Giovagallo (d. 1282) of the 'Spino Secco' branch of the family. This Moroello was first cousin of Currado II (*Purg.* viii. 65, 118) and of Franceschino, Dante's host at Sarzana in 1307,[4] and grandson of Currado I (*Purg.* viii. 119).[5] He married Alagia de' Fieschi, niece of Pope Adrian V (*Purg.* xix. 142), and died about the year 1315.[6] Boccaccio, in his *Vita di Dante*,[7] relates that it was while under Moroello's roof in Lunigiana[8] that Dante was induced to continue the *Commedia*, the composition of which had been interrupted by his exile from Florence; he further

[1] *Canz.* xi: 'Amor, dacchè convien pur ch' io mi doglia' (see below, pp. 36–8).

[2] See Zenatti, *op. cit.*, pp. 450–1. Torraca, on the other hand, who argues that the 'curia' of l. 10 of the letter was that of the Emperor Henry VII, not that of the Malaspini, holds that the letter was written in 1311 (see *Bull. Soc. Dant. Ital.*, N.S. x. 147).

[3] See the article *I Malaspina ricordati da Dante* by Staffetti, in Bartoli's *Storia della Letteratura Italiana*, vol. vi², pp. 265–303; and also his article in *Bull. Soc. Dant. Ital.*, N.S. vi. 114 ff.

[4] See above.

[5] See Table XXVI A in *Dante Dictionary*.

[6] See the account of him in *Dante Dictionary*, p. 354.

[7] § 14, ed. Macrì-Leone.

[8] Filippo Villani also records Dante's visit to Moroello, and states in so many words that on leaving him Dante betook himself to the Casentino (whence this letter is supposed to have been written, see above) :—'A Moruello . . . decedens, Casentinum applicuit' (*Expositio super Comedia Dantis*, § 3, ed. Cugnoni).

states[1] that, according to some, it was to Moroello that Dante dedicated the *Purgatorio*.

SUMMARY.—§ 1. Lest false reports should reach Moroello as to the cause of his silence, Dante writes to explain the real reason, and thereby to excuse himself from the charge of neglect. § 2. On reaching the banks of the Arno, after his departure from the court of Moroello, he was suddenly confounded by the apparition of a lady, at the sight of whom, in spite of all his previous resolutions to keep his thoughts from women, Love once again took possession of him, and, making an end of his meditations upon higher things, reduced him to a state of utter subjection to his will, in which condition he now writes. The manner in which Love exercises his tyranny Moroello will learn from the *canzone*[2] which accompanies the letter.

[*Scribit Dantes Domino Moroello*[a] *Marchioni Malaspinae.*[3]]

§ 1. Ne lateant dominum vincula[4] servi sui, quam[5] affectus gratuitas[b6] dominantis,[c] et ne alia relata pro aliis, quae falsarum opinionum seminaria frequentius

MS. = *Cod. Vat.-Palat. Lat.* 1729 O. = *Oxford Dante*

[a] MS. *Maroello* [b] MS. *gratuitatis* [c] O. *quem affectus gratitudinis dominantur*

[1] § 15, ed. Macrì-Leone.

[2] Parallel passages from this *canzone* (*Canz.* xi in the *Oxford Dante*) are given in the subjoined notes.

[3] As to the identity of the Marquis Moroello, see above, p. 32.

[4] *Canz.*, l. 82: 'una catena il serra'.

[5] This *quam* is the correlative of *tam* omitted or understood before *vincula*; for the omission of *tam* in similar cases, see *Bull. Soc. Dant. Ital.*, N.S. xix. 265, and xxii. 144, n.

[6] This emendation is due to R. Sabbadini (see *Giornale Dantesco*, xx (1912). 163; see also *Bull. Soc. Dant. Ital.*, N.S. xix. 17–18, 23, n. 1).

esse solent, negligentem[a] praedicent carceratum, ad conspectum Magnificentiae[1] vestrae praesentis oraculi[b] seriem[2] placuit destinare.

§ 2. Igitur mihi a limine suspiratae[c] postea curiae separato, in qua (velut saepe sub admiratione vidistis) fas fuit sequi libertatis officia, quum primum pedes iuxta Sarni[3] fluenta securus et incautus defigerem,[4] subito heu! mulier, ceu fulgur descendens,[5] apparuit, nescio quomodo, meis auspitiis[6] undique moribus et forma[d]

[a] O. *negligenter* [b] O. *oratiunculae* [c] MS. *suspirare*
[d] O. *fortunae*

[1] Instances of 'Magnificentia' as a title of honour (cf. *Epist.* vii* *tit.*, where it is applied to the Emperor Henry VII; and *Epist.* x. 1, 603, where it is applied to Can Grande) are of frequent occurrence in the *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum*; thus the title 'Regia Magnificentia' is applied by Innocent III (March 1, 1201) to the Emperor Otto IV (ed. Potthast, No. 1292); and by Honorius III (Dec. 11, 1220) to the Emperor Frederick II (Potth. No. 6434); and that of 'Imperialis Magnificentia' by Gregory IX (Jan. 19, 1231) to the same Emperor (Potth. No. 8653).

[2] Novati has shown that 'oraculi series' here (with which compare 'literarum series' in *Epist.* i. 22–3) means nothing more nor less than 'a letter' (see *Dante e la Lunigiana*, pp. 527–9, 541, nn. 34, 35).

[3] In his Latin works Dante always calls the Arno *Sarnus*; cf. *V. E.* i. 6, l. 19; *Epist.* vi. 108; vii. 141, 191; *Ecl.* i. 44.

[4] *Canz.*, ll. 61–3: 'Così m' hai concio, Amore, in mezzo l'Alpi, Nella valle del fiume, Lungo il qual sempre sopra me sei forte.'

[5] *Canz.*, ll. 65–6: 'il fiero lume, Che folgorando fa via alla morte'; cf. *Aen.* viii. 524.

[6] 'Wishes', 'hopes'; cf. *Epist.* v. 7: 'auspitia gentium blanda serenitate confortat'; *Epist.* vii*: 'mundi Gubernator aeternus... ad *auspitia* Caesaris et Augustae dexteram gratiae coadiutricis extendat'; and *Epist.* vii***: 'dextera Summi Regis *vota* Caesaris et Augustae feliciter adimplebat' (see Torraca, in *Bull. Soc. Dant. Ital.*, N.S. x. 143).

conformis. O quam in eius apparitione[a] obstupui! Sed stupor subsequentis tonitrui[1] terrore cessavit. Nam sicut diurnis[b2] coruscationibus illico succedunt tonitrua, sic inspecta flamma pulchritudinis huius[c] amor terribilis et imperiosus me tenuit.[3] Atque hic ferox, tamquam dominus pulsus a patria post longum exilium sola in sua repatrians, quidquid eius[d] contrarium fuerat intra me, vel occidit, vel expulit, vel ligavit. Occidit[4]

[a] O. *admiratione* [b] O. *divinis* [c] O. *eius* [d] MS. *enim*; O. *ei*

[1] *Canz.*, l. 57: 'quel tuono, che mi giunse addosso'. Gen. *tonitrui* comes from the nom. *tonitruum*, a form which occurs frequently in the Vulgate (e.g. *Job* xxxviii. 25: 'viam sonantis tonitrui'; *Mark* iii. 17: 'Boanerges, quod est, Filii tonitrui'); cf. Giovanni da Genova in the *Catholicon*: 'hic tonitrus, -trus, . . . et hoc tonitruum, tonitrui'.

[2] Boccaccio, who incorporated this passage in the letter mentioned above (see p. 31), has *divinis*; the reading of the MS. is quite clear—the meaning apparently is 'of everyday occurrence', 'such as happen in our everyday experience'.

[3] *Canz.*, ll. 22–5: 'la riguarda, e . . . s'adira, Ch' ha fatto il foco ov'ella trista incende'.

[4] Novati (*op. cit.*, pp. 531–3) argues at some length that this second *occidit* should be taken, not as from *occīdo*, as before, but as from *occĭdo*; and he explains: '*propositum occidit* come *sol occidit*', in which he is followed by Passerini, who renders 'cadde così quel laudabil proposito'. But this seems quite unnecessary; and, moreover, it destroys the Dantesque symmetry of the whole passage, besides involving a very awkward construction, necessitating the change of subject from *amor* to *propositum*, and then back again to *amor*. *Occidit* here is surely the same verb as in the previous sentence. Dante says, Love 'slew (*occidit*) or expelled (*expulit*) or fettered (*ligavit*)' whatever was opposed to himself in Dante; and he then proceeds to give an instance of each of these acts—Love slew (*occidit*), i.e. made an end of, Dante's resolve to keep aloof from women; he banished (*relegavit*) Dante's meditations on higher things; and he fettered (*ligavit*) Dante's free will. (The use of *relegavit*, instead of the repetition of *expulit*, as in the case

ergo propositum illud laudabile, quo a mulieribus suisque[a] cantibus[1] abstinebam; ac meditationes assiduas quibus tam coelestia quam terrestria intuebar,[b2] quasi suspectas, impie relegavit; et denique, ne contra se amplius anima rebellaret, liberum meum ligavit arbitrium, ut non quo ego, sed quo ille vult, me verti oporteat.[3] Regnat itaque amor in me, nulla refragante virtute[4]; qualiterque me regat, inferius extra sinum praesentium[5] requiratis.

[*Canzone*[6]]

[Amor, dacchè convien pur ch' io mi doglia,
Perchè la gente m' oda,
E mostri me d'ogni virtute spento,
Dammi savere a pianger come voglia:
Sì che 'l duol che si snoda
Portin le mie parole, come 'l sento.

[a] MS. *suis* [b] MS. *intuebat*

of *occidit* and *ligavit*, is doubtless to be accounted for by the exigencies of the *cursus*, 'impie relegavit' giving the desired *velox*, the fourth in a succession of five—'expulit vèl ligávit', 'cántibus àbstinébam', '(ter)réstria ìntuébar', 'ímpie rèlegávit', 'ánima rèbelláret').

[1] Torraca (*Bull. Soc. Dant. Ital.*, N.S. x. 140–1) proposes to read 'satis cautus abstinebam'; but this violates the *cursus*, which is strictly observed by Dante, 'cantibus abstinebam' giving a *velox* (see previous note).

[2] No doubt the meditations which bore fruit in the *Commedia*, 'il poema sacro, Al quale ha posto mano e cielo e terra' (*Par.* xxv. 1–2).

[3] *Canz.*, ll. 31–3, 38–40: 'La nemica figura, che rimane Vittoriosa e fera, E signoreggia la virtù che vuole . . . Fo come colui, Che nel podere altrui Va co' suoi piè colà dov' egli è morto'.

[4] *Canz.*, l. 3: 'd'ogni virtute spento'.

[5] That is, in the subjoined *canzone*.

[6] *Canz.* xi in the *Oxford Dante*.

Tu vuoi ch' io muoia, ed io ne son contento:
Ma chi mi scuserà, s' io non so dire
Ciò, che mi fai sentire?
Chi crederà ch' io sia omai sì colto?
Ma se mi dai parlar quanto tormento,
Fa, signor mio, che innanzi al mio morire
Questa rea per me nol possa udire;
Chè, se intendesse ciò ch' io dentro ascolto,
Pietà faria men bello il suo bel volto.
Io non posso fuggir, ch' ella non vegna
Nell' immagine mia,
Se non come il pensier che la vi mena.
L' anima folle, che al suo mal s'ingegna,
Com' ella è bella e ria
Così dipinge, e forma la sua pena:
Poi la riguarda, e quando ella è ben piena
Del gran desio, che dagli occhi le tira,
Incontro a sè s' adira,
Ch' ha fatto il foco, ov' ella trista! incende.
Quale argomento di ragion raffrena,
Ove tanta tempesta in me si gira?
L' angoscia che non cape dentro, spira
Fuor della bocca sì, ch' ella s'intende,
Ed anche agli occhi lor merito rende.
La nemica figura, che rimane
Vittoriosa e fera,
E signoreggia la virtù che vuole,
Vaga di sè medesma andar mi fane
Colà, dov' ella è vera,
Come simile a simil correr suole.
Ben conosch' io che va la neve al sole;
Ma più non posso: fo come colui,
Che nel podere altrui
Va co' suoi piè colà, dov' egli è morto.
Quando son presso, parmi udir parole
Dicer: Via via; vedrai morir costui?
Allor mi volgo per vedere a cui
Mi raccomandi: a tanto sono scorto
Dagli occhi, che m' ancidono a gran torto.

Qual io divegna sì feruto, Amore,
Sal contar tu, non io,
Che rimani a veder me senza vita:
E se l' anima torna poscia al core,
Ignoranza ed oblio
Stato è con lei, mentre ch' ella è partita.
Com' io risurgo, e miro la ferita,
Che mi disfece quando io fui percosso,
Confortar non mi posso
Sì, ch' io non tremi tutto di paura.
E mostra poi la faccia scolorita
Qual fu quel tuono, che mi giunse addosso;
Che se con dolce riso è stato mosso,
Lunga fiata poi rimane oscura,
Perchè lo spirto non si rassicura.
Così m' hai concio, Amore, in mezzo l' Alpi,
Nella valle del fiume,
Lungo il qual sempre sopra me sei forte.
Qui vivo e morto, come vuoi, mi palpi
Mercè del fiero lume,
Che folgorando fa via alla morte.
Lasso! non donne qui, non genti accorte
Vegg' io, a cui incresca del mio male.
Se a costei non ne cale,
Non spero mai da altrui aver soccorso:
E questa, sbandeggiata di tua corte,
Signor, non cura colpo di tuo strale:
Fatto ha d' orgoglio al petto schermo tale,
Ch' ogni saetta lì spunta suo corso;
Per che l' armato cuor da nulla è morso.
O montanina mia canzon, tu vai;
Forse vedrai Fiorenza la mia terra,
Che fuor di sè mi serra,
Vota d' amore, e nuda di pietate:
Se dentro v' entri, va dicendo: Omai
Non vi può fare il mio signor più guerra;
Là, ond' io vegno, una catena il serra
Tal, che se piega vostra crudeltate,
Non ha di ritornar più libertate.]

TRANSLATION

[*Dante writes to the Lord Moroello, Marquis Malaspina.*]

§ 1. Lest the lord should be ignorant of the bonds of his servant, and of the spontaneity of the affection by which he is governed, and lest reports spread abroad at variance with the facts, which too often are wont to prove seed-beds of false opinion, should proclaim to be guilty of negligence him who is a captive, it has seemed good to me to address to the eyes of your Magnificence this present epistle.[1]

§ 2. It befell, then, that after my departure from the threshold of that court (which I since have so yearned for), wherein, as you often remarked with amaze, I was privileged to be enrolled in the service of liberty, no sooner had I set foot by the streams of Arno, in all security and heedlessness, than suddenly, woe is me! like a flash of lightning from on high, a woman appeared, I know not how, in all respects answering to my inclinations[2] both in character and appearance. Oh! how was I dumbfounded at the sight of her! But my stupefaction gave place before the terror of the thunder that followed. For just as in our everyday experience[3] the thunder-clap instantaneously follows the flash, so, at the sight of the blaze of this beauty, Love, terrible and imperious, straightway laid hold on me. And he, raging like a despot expelled from his fatherland, who returns to his native soil after long exile, slew or expelled or fettered whatsoever within me was opposed to him. He slew, then, that praiseworthy resolve which held me aloof from women and from songs about women; and he pitilessly banished as suspect those unceasing meditations wherein I used to ponder the things of heaven and of earth; and, finally, that my soul might never again rebel against him, he fettered my free will, so that it behoves

[1] 'Praesentis oraculi seriem'; see above, p. 34, n. 2.

[2] 'Auspitiis'; see above, p. 34, n. 6.

[3] 'Diurnis'; see above, p. 35, n. 2.

me to turn me not whither I will, but whither he wills. Love, therefore, reigns within me, with no restraining influence; and in what manner he rules me you must inquire from what follows below outside the limits of this present writing.

[*Canzone.*]

[Love, since 'tis meet that I should tell my woe,
That men may list to me,
And show myself with all my manhood gone,
Grant that I may content in weeping know;
So that my grief set free
My words may utter, with my sense at one.
Thou will'st my death, and I consent thereon;
But who will pardon if I lack the art
To tell my pain of heart?
Who will believe what now doth me constrain?
But if from thee fit words for grief are won,
Grant, O my Lord, that, ere my life depart,
That cruel fair one may not hear my pain,
For, of my inward grief were she made ware,
Sorrow would make her beauteous face less fair.
I cannot scape from her, but she will come
Within my phantasy,
More than I can the thought that brings her there:
The frenzied soul that brings its own ill home,
Painting her faithfully,
Lovely and stern, its own doom doth prepare:
Then looks on her, and when it filled doth fare
With the great longing springing from mine eyes,
Wroth with itself doth rise,
That lit the fire where it, poor soul! doth burn.
What plea of reason calms the stormy air
When such a tempest whirls o'er inward skies?
The grief it cannot hold breaks forth in sighs,
From out my lips that others too may learn,
And gives mine eyes the tears they truly earn.
The image of my fair foe which doth stay
Victorious and proud,
And lords it o'er my faculty of will,
Desirous of itself, doth make me stray
There, where its truth is showed,
As like to like its course directing still.
Like snow that seeks the sun, so fare I ill;
But I am powerless, and I am as they
Who thither take their way

As others bid, where they must fall as dead.
When I draw near, a voice mine ears doth fill,
Which saith: Away! seek'st thou his death to see?
Then look I out, and search to whom to flee
For succour:—to this pass I now am led
By those bright eyes that baleful lustre shed.
What I become when smitten thus, O Love,
Thou can'st relate, not I;
For thou dost stay to look while I lie dead,
And if my soul back to my heart should move,
Blind loss of memory
Hath been with her while she from earth hath fled.
When I rise up, and see the wound that bled,
And cast me down sore smitten by the blow,
No comfort can I know
To keep me from the shuddering thrill of fear;
And then my looks, with pallor o'er them spread,
Show what that lightning was that laid me low.
For, grant it came with sweet smile all aglow,
Long time all clouded doth my face appear,
Because my spirit gains no safety clear.
Thus thou hast brought me, Love, to Alpine vale,
Where flows the river bright,
Along whose banks thou still o'er me dost reign.
Alive or dead thou dost at will assail,
Thanks to the fierce keen light
Which flashing opes the way for Death's campaign.
Alas! for ladies fair I look in vain,
Or kindly men, to pity my deep woe.
If she unheeding go,
I have no hope that others help will send,
And she, no longer bound to thy domain,
Cares not, O Sire, for dart that thou dost throw;
Such shield of pride around her breast doth go,
That every dart thereon its course doth end;
And thus her heart against them doth defend.
Dear mountain song of mine, thou goest thy way,
Perchance thou'lt Florence see, mine own dear land,
That drives me doomed and banned,
Showing no pity, and devoid of love.
If thou dost enter there, pass on, and say,
'My Lord no more against you can wage war,
There, whence I come, his chains so heavy are,
That, though thy fierce wrath placable should prove,
No longer freedom hath he thence to move'.][1]

[1] Plumptre's translation.

EPISTOLA V

('*Ecce nunc tempus acceptabile*')

To the Princes and Peoples of Italy

[Sept. or Oct. 1310]

MSS.—The Latin text of this letter (which was first known in an early Italian translation,[1] formerly attributed to Marsilio Ficino) has been preserved in two MSS., both of the fourteenth century: namely, the Vatican MS. (*Cod. Vat.-Palat. Lat. 1729*) already mentioned, in which it occurs last of the nine letters attributed to Dante in the MS.,[2] and in which the text is in several places defective; and *Cod. S. Pantaleo 8* in the Biblioteca Vittorio Emanuele at Rome, which contains also the Latin text, and an Italian translation, of Dante's letter to the Emperor Henry VII (*Epist.* vii).[3] These two texts are independent, as is evident from the fact that the hiatus in the Vatican MS. do not occur in the other.

Printed Texts.[4]—1. F. Torricelli (1842): in *Antologia di Fossombrone* (Fossombrone, 1842; vol. i, pp. 339–44). 2. Torri (1842): *Epist.* v (*op. cit.*, pp. 28–32). 3. Fraticelli (1857): *Epist.* v (*op. cit.*, pp. 464–70). 4. Giuliani (1882): *Epist.* v (*op. cit.*, pp. 12–16). 5. Scartazzini (1890): in *Prolegomeni della Divina Commedia* (Leipzig, 1890; pp. 101–4). 6. Moore

[1] See below, p. 43. [2] See above, p. 1.

[3] See Barbi, in *Bull. Soc. Dant. Ital.*, N.S. ii. 23. The MS. probably belongs to the latter half of the fourteenth century. Colomb de Batines, who describes it in his *Bibliografia Dantesca* (ii. 208–9), assigns it to the first half of the fifteenth century. Besides the letters of Dante above mentioned, this MS., which belonged at one time to Celso Cittadini (1555–1627), contains the text of the *Divina Commedia*, lyrical poems of Dante and of Guido Cavalcanti, and other matter (see De Batines, *loc. cit.*).

[4] For titles of editions referred to here as already quoted, see above, pp. 1–2.

(1894): *Epist.* v (*op. cit.*, pp. 405–7). 7. Passerini (1910): *Epist.* v (*op. cit.*, pp. 28–42). 8. Paget Toynbee (1912): (diplomatic transcripts of the MS. texts, together with collations of the various readings of the printed editions of the letter, and a list of proposed emendations in the Oxford text) in *Modern Language Review* (vol. vii, pp. 27–9, 215–22). 9. Paget Toynbee (1915): (critical text, with list of passages in which this text differs from that of the *Oxford Dante*) in *Modern Language Review* (vol. x, pp. 151–6). 10. [Della Torre] (1917): *Epist.* viii (*op. cit.*, pp. 247–53).

TRANSLATIONS.[1]—*Italian.* 1. Anon.[2] (Cent. xv): printed by P. Lazzari (1754), in *Miscellaneorum ex MSS. Libris Bibliothecae Collegii Romani Societatis Jesu Tomus Primus* (Romae, 1754; pp. 139–44); by F. de Romanis (1815), in the notes to Tiraboschi's *Vita di Dante*, in *Divina Commedia* (Roma, 1815–17; vol. iv, pp. 42–4)[3]; by I. Moutier (1823), from *Cod. Riccardiano 1304*, in *Cronica di Giovanni Villani* (Firenze, 1823; vol. viii, pp. lvii–lxiii); by Witte (1827), in *Dantis Alligherii Epistolae quae exstant* (Patavii, 1827; pp. 19–26); by Fraticelli (1840), in *Dantis Alighierii Epistolae quae exstant* (Florentiae, 1840; pp. 213–22); by Torricelli (1842),[4] in *Antologia di Fossombrone* (vol. i, p. 296); by Torri (1842), *op. cit.*, pp. 147–50. 2. Cesare Balbo (1839): (extracts) in *Vita di Dante* (Torino, 1839; ed. Firenze, 1853, pp. 325–7). 3. Torri (1842): *op. cit.*, pp. 29–33. 4. Fraticelli (1857): *op. cit.*, pp. 465–71. 5. Passerini (1910): *op. cit.*, pp. 29–43. 6. M. Scherillo (1918): (extracts) in *Le Origini e lo Svolgimento della Letteratura Italiana* (Milano, 1918; vol. i, pp. 166–7).—*German.* 1. Kannegiesser (1845): *op. cit.*, pp. 175–9. 2. Scartazzini (1879): (extracts) in *Dante Alighieri, seine Zeit, sein Leben und*

[1] For titles of editions referred to here as already quoted, see p. 2.

[2] Formerly attributed to Marsilio Ficino (1433–99), who translated Dante's *De Monarchia* into Italian.

[3] For other editions of the *Commedia* in which the translation of this letter is printed, see Koch, *Catalogue of the Cornell Dante Collection*, vol. i, p. 75.

[4] Torricelli printed only §§ 1–3 and a part of § 4.

seine Werke (pp. 384–5, 387–9). 3. F. X. Kraus (1897): (extracts) in *Dante, sein Leben und sein Werk* (Berlin, 1897; pp. 298–9).—*English.* 1. F. J. Bunbury (1852): (extracts) in *Life and Times of Dante Alighieri* (London, 1852; vol. ii, pp. 129–32). 2. Latham (1891): *op. cit.*, pp. 133–40. 3. Wicksteed (1898): in *A Provisional Translation of Dante's Political Letters* (Hull, 1898; pp. 5–9). 4. Wicksteed (1904): (revised trans.) in *Translation of the Latin Works of Dante Alighieri* (pp. 308–13). 5. Paget Toynbee: (*see below*, pp. 58–62).

AUTHENTICITY.—This letter, as to the authenticity of which there can be no doubt, is one of three which were written by Dante in his own name (in each he describes himself as 'Dantes Alagherii Florentinus et exul immeritus') with especial reference to the advent of the Emperor Henry VII into Italy—in the present letter he exhorts the Princes and Peoples of Italy to receive the Emperor as their rightful sovereign, in obedience to the recommendation of Pope Clement V; in the next (*Epist.* vi) he denounces the rebellious Florentines who opposed his coming; in the third (*Epist.* vii) he addresses the Emperor himself, and beseeches him to hasten his advance into Tuscany, in order that he may chastise the Florentines without further delay.

DATE.—Henry, Count of Luxemburg, was at the instance of Clement V elected Emperor at Frankfort on Nov. 27, 1308, and was crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle on Jan. 6, 1309. On July 26, in reply to an embassy from Henry, Clement published an encyclical ('Divinae Sapientiae') approving the election, and promising that the coronation should take place at St. Peter's in two years' time. In May of the following year (1310) Henry sent ambassadors to the chief cities of Italy, Florence among them, to announce that he was coming into Italy to receive the Imperial crown. On Sept. 1 of that year Clement issued a second encyclical ('Exultet in gloria') calling upon all good Christians, and the Italians in particular, to receive and honour Henry as Emperor. On Oct. 10 Henry was at Lausanne, where he was welcomed by envoys from the Italian cities, with the exception of Florence (which was represented by Florentine

exiles), and a few days later he crossed the Alps by the Mt. Cenis, reaching Susa on the 24th, and Turin on the 30th.[1] It was about this time, probably in September or October 1310, shortly before Henry crossed the Alps, that Dante's letter was written—it was at any rate written after the issue of Clement's encyclical of Sept. 1, since there is an unmistakable reference to the latter in the letter,[2] the language of which moreover in more than one place echoes that of the Papal missive.[3]

SUMMARY.—§ 1. A new day is dawning after the long darkness of tribulation, the Sun of peace shall appear on high, the reign of justice shall be renewed, and the oppressed peoples shall be delivered from their yoke. § 2. Italy, hitherto an object of pity, shall become the envy of the world, for the bridegroom Henry is hastening to the wedding, and the workers of iniquity shall be cut off. § 3. Such as crave his mercy shall be pardoned, but those that persist in their evil ways shall be utterly rooted out. § 4. Let the peoples of Italy bethink them of their descent, and let them come before the presence of the Emperor with confession, and submit themselves with repentance. § 5. Let them that are oppressed lift up their hearts, and prepare themselves to receive the grace of God, that they may bear the fruit of true peace, and may be recognized as sheep of his fold by the Roman shepherd, who, though he be authorized to chastise, yet delights rather in compassion than in correction. § 6. The joys of peace are within reach of all; let them, therefore, rise up to meet their King, not only as subjects acknowledging his sovereignty, but as free peoples accepting his guidance. § 7. And let them stand in reverent awe before him, bearing in mind that by virtue of his law they enjoy their public and private rights, for the Roman Prince is lord of all the earth, foreordained of God, as is recognized by Holy Church. § 8. The

[1] See Zingarelli, *Dante*, pp. 249 ff.

[2] Dante says (ll. 165–6), 'Hic est quem Petrus, Dei Vicarius, honorificare nos monet'; Clement had called on the peoples of Christendom 'regem praedictum honorificentia debita venerari'.

[3] See Zingarelli, *op. cit.*, p. 256.

pre-ordination of the Roman Emperor is proved by the course of history, a survey of which from the repulse of the Argonauts by Laomedon down to the triumphs of Octavian will show that certain events 'have altogether transcended the highest pitch of human effort', and that at times God has used man as the unconscious instrument of his will. § 9. Further proof supplied by the fact that Christ was born during a period of profound peace under the Roman Emperor, whose temporal jurisdiction He himself recognized when He said, 'Render unto Caesar the things which are Caesar's'. § 10. And if this should not suffice, let the words of Christ be recalled, how He declared to Pilate, the vicar of Caesar, that his power was given to him from above. Let then Henry, as the King appointed by God, be received with due honour in obedience to the Apostolic exhortation, that the light of the lesser as well as of the greater luminary may shine forth for the guidance of mankind.

Universis et singulis Italiae Regibus[1] *et Senatoribus almae*[2] *Urbis, necnon Ducibus, Marchionibus, Comiti-*

[1] That is, Frederick II of Aragon (third son of Peter III of Aragon), King of Sicily, 1296–1337; and Robert of Anjou (third son of Charles II of Anjou), King of Naples, 1309–43.

[2] *Almus* was commonly used by mediaeval writers as a synonym of *sanctus*, and that is no doubt its meaning here, 'alma urbs', i. e. Rome, being the exact equivalent of 'urbs sancta', *Mon.* ii. 5, l. 106; and 'santa città', *Conv.* iv. 5, ll. 53, 179; cf. *Inf.* ii. 20: 'alma Roma', where Benvenuto da Imola comments: 'Roma dicitur alma urbs, idest sancta'. The word is used by Dante in a similar sense in *Epist.* vi. 39–40: 'legum sanctiones almae' (where the *textus receptus* reads *altissime*). The expression 'alma urbs', meaning Rome, occurs repeatedly in the letters of Rienzi (*Epistolario di Cola di Rienzo*, ed. Gabrielli, pp. 6, 9, 12, 15, 16, 29, 87) (see *Mod. Lang. Rev.* xi. 342, 464; and *Bull. Soc. Dant. Ital.*, N.S. xxiii. 162–3).

bus,[a] *atque Populis, humilis Italus Dantes Alagherii*[b] *Florentinus et exul immeritus*[1] *orat pacem.*[c]

§ 1. 'Ecce nunc[d] tempus acceptabile',[e 2] quo signa surgunt consolationis et pacis. Nam dies nova splendescit[f] ab ortu Auroram[g] demonstrans,[h] quae iam tenebras diuturnae calamitatis attenuat; iamque aurae orientales crebrescunt,[i 3] rutilat coelum in labiis suis, et auspitia[4] gentium blanda serenitate confortat. Et nos gaudium expectatum[j] videbimus, qui[k] diu pernoctitavimus[l 5] in deserto; quoniam Titan[6] exorietur pacificus, et iustitia sine sole quasi heliotropium[7] hebetata[m] quum

P. = *Cod. S. Pantaleo* 8 V. = *Cod. Vat.-Palat. Lat.* 1729
O. = *Oxford Dante*

[a] Hiatus in V., *Ducibus, Marchionibus, Comitibus* omitted [b] P. *Alegherij*; V. *Alagerij*; O. *Aligherius* [c] Hiatus in V., *-at pacem* omitted [d] Hiatus in V., *Ecce nunc* omitted [e] P. *accetabile* [f] V. *spendescit* [g] V. reads *al* for *ab*, and omits *ortu Auroram*, leaving hiatus; O. *albam* [h] P.V. *demostrans* [i] P. *crebescunt* [j] P. *expetatum* [k] P. *quod* [l] P. *pernotauimus*; V. *pernotitauimus*; O. *pernoctavimus* [m] O. *quasi ut h. h.*

[1] Cf. *Epist.* ii. 24; *Epist.* iii (iv) *tit.*; *Epist.* vi *tit.*; *Epist.* vii *tit.*

[2] 2 *Cor.* vi. 2.

[3] Cf. *Aen.* iii. 530.

[4] Cf. *Epist.* iv (iii). 16, and note.

[5] Frequentative forms are common in mediaeval texts; numbers of examples are to be found in the *Catholicon*; cf. *lectito* in *Epist.* vii*.

[6] Cf. *Epist.* vii. 19, where Dante speaks of the Emperor Henry as 'Titan praeoptatus'.

[7] Dante no doubt had in mind, not the plant (otherwise known as *solsequium*, 'turnsole'), to which the expression *hebetata*, 'dulled', 'dimmed', could hardly be applied, but the gem *heliotropium* or *heliotropia*, whose properties when exposed to the sun in certain conditions are described in the old lapidaries, and in the mediaeval dictionaries of Papias, Uguccione da Pisa, and Giovanni da Genova.

primum iubar ille vibraverit[a], revirescet. Saturabuntur omnes qui esuriunt[b] et sitiunt[1] in lumine radiorum eius, et confundentur qui diligunt iniquitatem[2] a facie coruscantis. Arrexit[c] namque aures misericordes[d 3] leo fortis de tribu Iuda[4]; atque ululatum universalis captivitatis[5] commiserans,[e 6] Moysen alium suscitavit, qui de gravaminibus Aegyptiorum populum suum eripiet, ad terram lacte ac melle manantem[7] perducens.

§ 2. Laetare[f] iam nunc miseranda Italia etiam

[a] V. *uibrauit* [b] P.V. *exuriunt* [c] P. *Arrecscit*; V. *Arrescit*
[d] P. *misericordis* [e] P.V.O. *miserans* [f] P. *Lectare*

In the absence of the sun ('sine sole') the stone would naturally lose its peculiar properties, and would appropriately be described as *hebetata*, a term applied by Pliny (*Hist. Nat.* xxxvii. 5, 18) to a species of emerald, which was said to be deprived of its brilliancy by exposure to the sun ('in sole hebetari'). It will be remembered that in the *Commedia* Dante refers to another reputed property of the gem heliotrope, that of rendering its wearer invisible (*Inf.* xxiv. 93: 'Senza sperar pertugio o elitropia').

[1] *Matt.* v. 6.

[2] *Psalm* x. 6 (A.V. xi. 5, where *iniquitatem* is rendered 'violence').

[3] Cf. *Aen.* x. 723, 726; and 2 *Chron.* vii. 15: 'aures erectae'.

[4] *Rev.* v. 5.

[5] Cf. *Jerem.* l. 46: 'A voce captivitatis Babylonis commota est terra'.

[6] This emendation, which involves only a very slight alteration of the reading of the MSS. (the abbreviation ꝯ = *com* being easily overlooked), rectifies the *cursus*, giving the *tardus* '(captivi)tátis commíserans'. It might be preferable to retain *miserans* and by a slight change in the order of the words to read 'universalis captivitatis míserans ululátum' (*velox*). On the form of clausula, '(captivi)tátis míserans', see Parodi, in *Bull. Soc. Dant. Ital.*, N.S. xix. 256–7.

[7] *Deut.* vi. 3.

Saracenis,[1] quae statim invidiosa[2] per orbem videberis, quia sponsus tuus, mundi solatium et gloria plebis tuae,[3] clementissimus[4] Henricus[a], Divus et Augustus[5] et Caesar, ad nuptias properat. Exsicca[b] lacrymas, et moeroris vestigia dele[c], pulcerrima; nam prope est qui liberabit te de carcere impiorum, qui percutiens mali-gnantes in ore gladii[6] perdet eos,[d] et vineam suam aliis locabit agricolis,[7] qui fructum iustitiae[8] reddant in tempore messis.[9]

§ 3. Sed an non[e] miserebitur cuiquam? Immo ignoscet omnibus misericordiam implorantibus, quum sit Caesar, et maiestas eius de fonte defluat pietatis.[10]

[a] P. *hericus* [b] P. *esicca*; V. *exica* [c] P. *dola* [d] O. *qui, p. m., in o. g. perdet eos* [e] V. *non an*

[1] Cf. *Epist.* viii. 143–4: 'Roma . . . nunc Hannibali nedum alii miseranda'.

[2] 'An object of envy'; cf. *A. T.* § 1, l. 13: 'viris invidiosis' (and Shadwell's note); *Par.* x. 138: 'invidiosi veri'.

[3] *Luke* ii. 32.

[4] Cf. *Epist.* vii. 41; this epithet is applied to the Roman Emperor by Orosius in his *Historia adversum Paganos*, vi. 1, § 6.

[5] 'Augustus' was part of the official title of the Emperor, as was 'Augusta' of that of the Empress; cf. *Epist.* vii *tit.*; and the titles of the three Battifolle letters (*Epist.* vii*, ii**, vii***).

[6] A Biblical phrase ('percutere in ore gladii') which occurs frequently in O. T.; cf. *Numb.* xxi. 24; *Deut.* xiii. 15; xx. 13; *Josh.* vi. 21; x. 28, 30, 32, 37, 39; xix. 47; *Judges* i. 8; 1 *Sam.* xxii. 19; 2 *Sam.* xv. 14; 2 *Kings* x. 25; *Jerem.* xxi. 7; the punctuation of the Oxford text associates 'in ore gladii' with 'perdere'—a phrase which nowhere occurs in the Vulgate.

[7] *Matt.* xxi. 41.

[8] *Amos* vi. 13 (in A. V. 'fruit of righteousness').

[9] *Matt.* xiii. 30.

[10] Cf. *Mon.* ii. 5, ll. 40–2: 'scriptum est, Romanum Imperium de fonte nascitur pietatis'; the saying occurs in the legend of St. Silvester in the *Legenda Aurea* of Jacopus de Voragine: 'Dignitas

40 Huius iudicium omnem severitatem abhorret, et semper

Romani Imperii de fonte nascitur pietatis'. Petrarch, addressing the Virgin in his *Canz.* xlix ('Vergine bella'), says (l. 43), 'Tu partoristi il fonte di pietate'. (See my *Dante Studies and Researches*, pp. 297–8.) The ultimate source of this saying has been traced to the *Actus Beati Silvestri* by Mr. F. E. Brightman, who has kindly contributed the following note: 'These *Actus* (which were printed at Milan about 1480 in the *Sanctuarium* of Mombritius and were reprinted by the Benedictines of Solesmes at Paris in 1910) are mentioned in the pseudo-Gelasian index of *libri recipiendi*, and were one of the sources of the Donation of Constantine. They were read for the matins Lessons of the feast of St. Silvester (Dec. 31), and were therefore included in the *Passionale* or *Legenda Sanctorum*. But as they are of considerable length, when the *Breviarium* was compiled, so as to include the whole Divine Service for the year in a single volume, they, like the other legends, had to be curtailed. But, at the same time, the complete *Passionale* continued to be copied, and presumably to be used in some churches. Thus, of four copies in the Bodleian, one is of Cent. xiii, two of Cent. xiv, and one of Cent. xv. It is quite possible, therefore, that Dante may have known the legend of St. Silvester either from a *Passionale*, or from a Breviary which retained the passage in question—quite apart from the *Legenda Aurea*.' The following is the passage as given in the Cent. xiii Bodleian MS. (*Canon. Misc.* 230) of the *Passionale*, which was written in 1204 by one Matthew the Florentine: 'Constantinus Augustus monarchiam tenens, cum plurimas strages de christianis dedisset, et innumerabilem populum per omnes provincias fecisset variis poenarum generibus interfici, elefantiae a Deo lepra in toto corpore percussus est. Huic cum diversa magorum et medicorum agmina subvenire non potuissent, pontifices Capitolii hoc dederunt consilium: debere piscinam fieri in ipso Capitolio quae puerorum sanguine repleretur. In quam calido ac fumante sanguine nudus descendens Augustus, mox posset vulnere illius leprae mundari. Iussum est igitur et de rebus fisci vel patrimonii regis ad tria millia et eo amplius infantes adduci ad urbem Romam. Pontificibus traditi sunt Capitolii. Die autem constituto egrediente imperatore Constantino palatium ad hoc eunte ad Capitolium ut sanguis innoxius funderetur, occurrit multitudo mulierum quae omnes resolutis crinibus, nudatisque pectoribus, dantes ululatus et mugitus coram eo se in

citra medium plectens, ultra medium praemiando[a] se figit. Anne propterea nequam hominum applaudet audacias[b], et initis[c 1] praesumptionum pocula[d] propinabit[2]? Absit, quoniam Augustus est. Et si Augustus, nonne relapso-

[a] P. *preliando* [b] O. *audaciis* [c] O. *initiis* [d] P. *procula*, with *alias pocula* written above

plateis straverunt, fundentes lacrimas. Percontatus itaque Constantinus Augustus qua de causa multitudo haec mulierum ista faceret, didicit has matres esse filiorum eorum quorum effundendus erat sanguis, tamdiu quousque piscina repleretur, in quam medendi causa lavandus descenderet et sanandus. Tunc imperator exhorruit facinus, et se tantorum criminum reum fore apud Dominum existimans quantum esset numerus puerorum, vicit crudelitatem pontificum pietas Romani imperii, et prorumpens in lacrimas iussit stare carrucam, et erigens se convocans universos clara voce dixit: Audite me, comites et commilitones, et omnes populi qui adstatis, Romani imperii dignitas de fonte nascitur pietatis. Cur ergo proponam saluti meae salutem populi innocentis. Nunc autem ab effusione innoxii sanguinis sententiam crudelitatis excludam. Melius est enim pro salute innocentum mori quam per interitum eorum vitam recuperare crudelem, quam tamen recuperare incertum est, cum certum sit in recuperata esse crudelitas.... Vincat nos pietas in isto congressu. Vere enim omnium adversantium poterimus esse victores si a sola pietate vincamur; omnium enim rerum se esse dominum comprobat qui verum se servum ostenderit esse pietatis. Cum ad istam conctionem omnis exercitus omnisque populus diutissime acclamasset, item contionatus dixit: Iussit pietas Romana filios suis matribus reddi, ut dulcedo reddita filiorum amaritudinem lacrimarum obdulcet. Et haec dicens iter quod arripuerat eundi ad Capitolium deferens ad palatium rediit' (*fol.* 32vo). (See *Mod. Lang. Rev.* xiv. 326–7.)

[1] From neut. plur. *inita* used as a substantive; *initis* is the reading of both MSS., and it is indirectly confirmed by the early Italian translation, in which the wholly irrelevant words 'dolce e piano' occur, which no doubt is the translator's rendering of *mitis*, either his own or a copyist's misreading of the *initis* of the Latin original.

[2] This word, which is registered by Giovanni da Genova in the *Catholicon*, occurs several times in the Vulgate, viz. *Isaiah* xxvii. 3; *Jerem.* xxv. 15, 17; *Amos* ii. 12.

rum facinora vindicabit? et usque in Thessaliam persequetur [a], Thessaliam [b], inquam [c], finalis deletionis [d]?[1]

§ 4. Pone, sanguis [e] Longobardorum, coadductam barbariem[2]; et si quid de Troianorum Latinorumque semine superest,[3] illi cede, ne [f] quum sublimis aquila, fulguris instar descendens,[4] affuerit, abiectos videat pullos eius, et prolis propriae locum corvulis occupatum. Eia, facite, Scandinaviae soboles,[5] ut cuius merito trepidatis adventum, quod [g] ex vobis est, praesentiam sitiatis [h]. Nec seducat alludens [i][6] cupiditas, more Sirenum,[7] nescio qua dulcedine[8] vigiliam rationis[9] mortificans. Praeoccupetis [j]

[a] P. omits *persequetur* [b] P. omits; V. *tesalia* [c] P. *in qua*
[d] P. *dillectionis*; V. *delectionis* [e] V. *sangu*, leaving hiatus [f] V. omits
[g] O. *quantum* [h] V. *scitiatis* [i] O. *illudens* [j] V. *preocupatis*

[1] The allusion is to the disastrous defeat of Pompey by Julius Caesar at the battle of Pharsalia in Thessaly, 48 B.C.

[2] Dante reproaches the Lombards with their barbarian origin, in allusion to their supposed descent through the Longobards from a Scandinavian tribe (*see below*).

[3] Cf. *Inf.* xv. 75–8; xxvi. 60 (where the Trojans are referred to as 'il gentil seme de' Romani'); *Conv.* iv. 4, ll. 103–5; *Mon.* ii. 11, ll. 22–4.

[4] Cf. *Purg.* ix. 20–9: 'un' aquila . . . mi parea che . . . Terribil come folgor discendesse'; cf. also *Aen.* viii. 524; *Epist.* iv (iii). 14–15.

[5] The tradition as to the Scandinavian origin of the Lombards is recorded by Paulus Diaconus in his *Historia Langobardorum*: 'Winnilorum, hoc est Langobardorum, gens, quae postea in Italia feliciter regnavit, a Germanorum populis originem ducens, . . . ab insula quae Scandinavia dicitur adventavit' (i. 1).

[6] This is the reading of both MSS.; Giovanni da Genova in the *Catholicon* says, 'est *alludere illudere*'.

[7] Cf. *Purg.* xix. 19; xxxi. 45.

[8] *Georg.* i. 412.

[9] Cf. *Inf.* xxvi. 114–15: 'questa vigilia de' nostri sensi'.

faciem eius in confessione subiectionis, et in psalterio [a] [1] poenitentiae iubiletis [2]; considerantes quia [b] 'potestati resistens Dei ordinationi resistit' [3]; et qui divinae ordinationi repugnat, voluntati omnipotentiae coaequali recalcitrat [c]; et 'durum est contra stimulum calcitrare' [d] [4].

§ 5. Vos autem qui lugetis oppressi [e], 'animum sublevate, quoniam prope est vestra salus'.[5] Assumite [f] [6] rastrum bonae humilitatis, atque glebis exustae animositatis occatis,[7] agellum sternite mentis vestrae, ne forte coelestis imber, sementem vestram ante iactum praeveniens, in vacuum de altissimo cadat [8]; non [g] resiliat [h] gratia Dei ex vobis tamquam [i] ros quotidianus ex lapide; sed velut foecunda vallis concipite [j], ac viride germinetis, viride dico fructiferum verae pacis; qua quidem viriditate vestra terra vernante, novus agricola Romanorum consilii sui boves ad aratrum affectuosius et confidentius coniugabit. Parcite, parcite, iam ex nunc, o carissimi [k], qui mecum iniuriam passi estis, ut Hectoreus [9] pastor vos oves de ovili suo cognoscat; cui etsi animadversio [l] temporalis divinitus est indulta, tamen ut eius bonitatem [m] redoleat, a quo velut a puncto bifurcatur Petri

[a] V.O. *et psalterio* [b] O. *quod* [c] P. *rechurerat* [d] P. *calcistrare* [e] P. *oppresi* [f] P. *assummere*; V. *asummite* [g] O. *neve* [h] V. *resiliet* [i] V. omits [j] O. *concipiatis* [k] P. (apparently) *olrimi* [l] P. *animauertio* [m] P. *bonitate*

[1] This reading is supported by the *in psalmis* of *Psalm* xciv. 2, of which Dante's words are a reminiscence.

[2] *Psalm* xciv. 2.

[3] *Rom.* xiii. 2; cf. *Epist.* vii. 165–6.

[4] *Acts* ix. 5.

[5] *Luke* xxi. 28; *Rom.* xiii. 11.

[6] Cf. *Ephes.* vi. 17.

[7] Cf. *Georg.* i. 94, 107.

[8] Cf. 2 *Cor.* vi. 1.

[9] That is, Trojan, and hence, in Dante's view, Roman (see above p. 52, n. 3).

Caesarisque potestas, voluptuose familiam suam corrigit, sed ei voluptuosius miseretur[a].

§ 6. Itaque, si culpa vetus[1] non obest, quae plerumque supinatur ut coluber et vertitur[b] in se ipsam, hinc[c] utrique[2] potestis advertere, pacem unicuique praeparari[d], et insperatae[e] laetitiae iam primitias[f] degustare. Evigilate[g] igitur omnes, et assurgite regi vestro, incolae Latiales[h 3], non solum sibi ad imperium, sed, ut liberi,[4] ad regimen[i] reservati.

§ 7. Nec tantum[j] ut assurgatis exhortor, sed ut illius obstupescatis aspectum,[5] qui[k] bibitis fluenta eius,[6] eiusque maria navigatis; qui calcatis arenas littorum et Alpium summitates quae suae sunt[1 7]; qui publicis quibuscumque gaudetis, et res privatas vinculo suae legis, non aliter, possidetis[m]. Nolite,[n] velut ignari, decipere vosmetipsos,[8] tamquam somniantes[o], in cordibus et di-

[a] V. *uoluptuose famili miseretur*; O. *v. f. s. c., libentius vero eius miseretur* [b] V. *plerumque suppi et uertitur*; O. *p. serpentis modo torquetur et v.* [c] P.V. *huic* [d] V. omits *praeparari*, leaving hiatus; O. *esse paratam* [e] P. *insperare*; V. *et erate*; O. *speratae* [f] P. *priuitias* [g] P. *Euigilare* [h] V. omits *incolae Latiales*, leaving hiatus; O. *i. Italiae* [i] P. *rengnum* [j] P. *tamen* [k] O. *aspectum. Qui* [l] P. *sue que sunt*; V.O. *qu(a)e sunt su(a)e* [m] P. *presidetis*, with *alias possidetis* written above [n] O. *possidetis; nolite* [o] P. *sopniantes*

[1] Disobedience, which was the cause of the fall of man; cf. *Par.* xiii. 37–9; xxvi. 115–17; xxxii. 122–3.

[2] That is, both the rebellious and the oppressed of §§ 3–5.

[3] For the use of *Latialis* in the sense of 'Italian', cf. 'Latiale caput' (of Rome) in *Epist.* viii. 150.

[4] Cf. *Mon.* i. 12, ll. 45–8: 'humanum genus . . . existens sub Monarcha (i.e. the Roman Emperor) est potissime liberum'; and *Epist.* vi. 157–64. [5] *Aen.* i. 613. [6] *Prov.* v. 15.

[7] See Parodi, in *Bull. Soc. Dant. Ital.*, N.S. xix. 255; and cf. l. 153: 'quae sua sunt'. [8] *Jerem.* xxxvii. 8.

centes[a 1], 'Dominum non habemus'.[2] Hortus enim eius et lacus est quod coelum circuit; nam[b] 'Dei est mare et ipse fecit illud, et aridam fundaverunt manus eius'.[c 3] Unde[d] Deum Romanum[e] principem praedestinasse relucet in miris effectibus[4]; et verbo Verbi confirmasse posterius[f 5] profitetur Ecclesia.

§ 8. Nempe si 'a creatura mundi invisibilia Dei, per ea quae facta sunt, intellecta[g] conspiciuntur'[6]; et si ex notioribus[h] nobis innotiora[7]; simpliciter[i] interest[j] humanae apprehensioni, ut[k] per motum coeli motorem intelligamus[l] et eius velle: facile praedestinatio haec etiam leviter intuentibus[m] innotescet[n]. Nam si a prima scintillula huius ignis[o 8] revolvamus praeterita, ex quo scilicet Argis[9] hospitalitas est[p] a Phrygibus

[a] O. *somniantes in cordibus, et dicentes* [b] P. *num* [c] V. *est* [d] P. *num* [e] P. omits *Romanum* [f] P. omits *posterius*; V. *propreerius* [g] P. *rellitta*; O. *intellectu* [h] P. *nutioribus*, with *alias notioribus* written above [i] O. *similiter* [j] P. *iter est* [k] V. *ne* [l] P. *intelligimus* [m] P. omits *intuentibus* [n] P.V. *innotescat* [o] V. *a prima huius ignis*; O. *a p. h. i. favilla* [p] O. omits *es*

[1] The punctuation of the Oxford text is obviously wrong; cf. *Psalm* iv. 5; x. 6, 11, 13; xiii. 1; xxxiv. 25; &c.

[2] 1 *Kings* xxii. 17; *Psalm* xiii. 1; lii. 1.

[3] *Psalm* xciv. 5; with a recollection of *Gen.* i. 9.

[4] See the references in the *Dante Dictionary*, s.v. ROMANI[1], and especially *Mon.* ii. 4.

[5] This conjectural emendation of the meaningless reading of V. is based on the *poscia* of the early Italian translation (ed. 1754).

[6] *Rom.* i. 20; cf. *Mon.* ii. 2, ll. 72–3.

[7] Aristotle, *Physics*, i. 1; cf. *Conv.* ii. 1, ll. 107–12; *A. T.* § 20, ll. 19–23.

[8] The 'blaze', that is, of the glory of the Roman Empire.

[9] 'Argi' was used in late and mediaeval Latin for 'Argivi'; thus in the commentary of the pseudo-Fulgentius on the *Thebaid* we find: 'Argeos grece, providentia latine, unde Greci dicuntur Argi, id est providi'; and in the *Elementarium Doctrinae Rudimentum*

denegata[a 1]; et usque ad Octaviani triumphos mundi gesta revisere vacet[2]; nonnulla[b] eorum videbimus humanae virtutis omnino culmina transcendisse,[3] et Deum per homines, tamquam per[c] coelos novos,[4] aliquid operatum fuisse. Non etenim[d] semper nos agimus; quin interdum utensilia Dei sumus; ac voluntates humanae, quibus inest ex natura libertas[e 5], etiam inferioris affectus immunes quandoque aguntur, et obnoxiae voluntati aeternae, saepe illi ancillantur ignare.[6]

[a] V. *deregata* [b] V. *nulla* [c] P. omits *per* [d] V. *non eternj* [e] P. *liberata*

of Papias (*c.* 1060): '*Argi* graece et *argiui* dicti ab argo rege filio apis. Iidem *danai* a danao rege. Iidem quoque *argolici* ab argo'; and in the *Magnae Derivationes* of Uguccione da Pisa (*c.* 1200): '*Argos* nomen civitatis in Grecia, neutri generis et indeclinabile in singulari, sed in plurali masculini generis, et declinatur *Argi -orum*, unde dicti sunt *Argi*, vel ab *Argo* rege dicuntur.' An actual instance of the use of *Argi* for *Argivi* occurs in the *Antiqua Translatio* of the *Ethics*, a work familiar to Dante, as was the *Derivationes* of Uguccione. Aristotle, speaking of the 'valour of ignorance' at the end of chap. 8 of Book iii, says that those who go into a fight under a false apprehension take to flight as soon as they discover that they have been deceived, 'as was the case with the Argives when they fell upon the Lacedaemonians, mistaking them for Sicyonians', which is rendered in the *Antiqua Translatio*: 'quod Argi patiebantur incidentes Laconibus ut Sicioniis' (Lib. iii, Lect. 17 *ad fin.*).

[1] The reference is to the repulse of the Argonauts by Laomedon from the port of Simois, which led to the sacking of Troy by Hercules, and the rape of Laomedon's daughter, Hesione, followed by the rape of Helen in reprisal, and the consequent Trojan war, as is recorded by Dares Phrygius in his *De Excidio Trojae* (i. 2), and repeated by Guido delle Colonne in his *Historia Trojana* (i. 2), by Benoît de Sainte-Maure in the *Roman de Troie* (ll. 989 ff.), by Brunetto Latini in his *Trésor* (i. 32), and by Villani in his *Cronica* (i. 12). (See *Mod. Lang. Rev.* xi. 69–73.)

[2] *Aen.* i. 372–3. [3] See above, p. 55, n. 4. [4] *Isaiah* lxv. 17; 2 *Pet.* iii. 13.

[5] Cf. *Mon.* i. 12, ll. 38–41; *Par.* v. 18–22. [6] Cf. *Epist.* vi. 100–1.

§ 9. Et si haec, quae uti[a] principia sunt ad probandum[b] quod quaeritur, non sufficiunt, quis non ab illata conclusione per talia praecedentia[c] mecum[d] opinari cogetur, pace[e] videlicet[f] annorum duodecim[g] orbem totaliter amplexata[h][1], quae sui syllogizantis[i] faciem Dei filium, sicuti opere patrato, ostendit[j]? Et Hic, quum ad revelationem Spiritus, Homo factus, evangelizaret in terris, quasi dirimens[k] duo regna, Sibi et Caesari universa distribuens, alterutri duxit[l] reddi quae sua sunt.[2]

§ 10. Quod si pertinax animus poscit ulterius, nondum annuens veritati, verba Christi examinet etiam iam ligati; cui quum potestatem suam Pilatus obiceret, Lux nostra de sursum esse asseruit, quod ille iactabat qui Caesaris ibi auctoritate vicaria[m] gerebat officium.[3] 'Non igitur ambuletis, sicut et gentes ambulant in vanitate sensus

[a] V. *ubi* [b] P. *adprobandum* [c] O. *procedendo* [d] V. *cum* (after hiatus); O. *nobiscum* [e] O. *pacem* [f] O. *videns* [g] P. omits *duodecim* [h] O. *amplexatam* [i] V. *silogiza* , leaving hiatus; O. *syllogizatoris* [j] V. *ostenditur* [k] P. *diruens* [l] P. *iussit*; O. *dixit* [m] P. *uicarie*

[1] Dante's authority here was Orosius: 'Itaque anno ab urbe condita DCCLII Caesar Augustus ab oriente in occidentem, a septentrione in meridiem, ac per totum Oceani circulum cunctis gentibus una pace conpositis, Iani portas tertio ipse tunc clausit; quas ex eo per duodecim fere annos quietissimo semper obseratas otio ipsa etiam robigo signavit. . . . Igitur eo tempore, id est eo anno quo firmissimam verissimamque pacem ordinatione Dei Caesar conposuit, natus est Christus, cuius adventui pax ista famulata est, in cuius ortu audientibus hominibus exultantes angeli cecinerunt, Gloria in excelsis Deo, et in terra pax hominibus bonae voluntatis' (*Hist. adv. Paganos*, vi. 22, §§ 1–2, 5); cf. *Par.* vi. 80–1; *Conv.* iv. 5, ll. 60–7; *Mon.* i. 16, ll. 10–19.

[2] *Matt.* xxii. 21. [3] *John* xix. 10–11.

tenebris obscurati'[1]; sed aperite oculos mentis vestrae,[2] ac videte quoniam[a 3] regem nobis coeli et[b] terrae Dominus ordinavit. Hic est quem Petrus, Dei vicarius, honorificare nos monet[4]; quem Clemens nunc Petri successor luce Apostolicae benedictionis illuminat[5]; ut ubi radius spiritualis non sufficit, ibi splendor minoris luminaris illustret.[6]

TRANSLATION

To all and singular the Princes of Italy, and the Senators of the Sacred City, as also the Dukes, Marquises, Counts, and Peoples, a humble Italian, Dante Alighieri, a Florentine undeservedly in exile, prayeth peace.

§ 1. Behold now is the accepted time, wherein arise the signs of consolation and peace. For a new day is beginning to break, revealing the dawn in the East, which even now is dispersing the darkness of our long tribulation. Already the orient breeze is freshening, the face of the heavens grows rosy, and confirms the hopes of the peoples with an auspicious calm. And we too, who have kept vigil through the long night in the wilderness, shall behold the long-awaited joy. For the Sun of peace shall appear on high, and justice which, like the heliotrope, deprived of his light, had grown faint, so soon as he shall dart forth

[a] O. *videte; quoniam* [b] O. *ac*

[1] *Ephes.* iv. 17–18. [2] See above, p. 15, n. 4.

[3] The punctuation of the Oxford text violates the *cursus*—'óculos mèntis véstrae' (*velox*)—besides obscuring the sense.

[4] Cf. 1 *Pet.* ii. 17.

[5] This is an unmistakable reference to Clement's encyclical of Sept. 1, 1310 ('Exultat in gloria'), see above, p. 45, n. 2.

[6] Dante here (as also in *Epist.* vi. 54–5) accepts the symbolism against which he argues in the *De Monarchia* (iii. 4), and which he rejects in the *Commedia* (cf. *Purg.* xvi. 107–8), namely, that the greater light represents the Pope, and the lesser the Emperor.

his rays, once more shall revive. All they that hunger and thirst shall be satisfied in the light of his radiance, and they that delight in iniquity shall be put to confusion before the face of his splendour. For the strong lion of the tribe of Judah hath lifted up his ears in compassion, and moved by the lamentations of the multitudes in captivity hath raised up another Moses, who shall deliver his people from the oppression of the Egyptians, and shall lead them to a land flowing with milk and honey.

§ 2. Rejoice, therefore, O Italy, thou that art now an object of pity even to the Saracens, for soon shalt thou be the envy of the whole world, seeing that thy bridegroom, the comfort of the nations, and the glory of thy people, even the most clement Henry, Elect of God and Augustus and Caesar, is hastening to the wedding. Dry thy tears, and wipe away the stains of thy weeping, most beauteous one; for he is at hand who shall bring thee forth from the prison of the ungodly, and shall smite the workers of iniquity with the edge of the sword,[1] and shall destroy them. And his vineyard shall he let out to other husbandmen, who shall render the fruit of justice in the time of harvest.

§ 3. But will he then have mercy on none? Nay, for he will pardon all those who implore his mercy, since he is Caesar, and his sovereignty derives from the fountain of pity. His judgements abhor all severity, for he punishes ever on this side the mean, while in rewarding he aims ever beyond the mean. Will he then countenance the daring of the evil-doers, and drink success to the undertakings of the presumptuous? Far be it, for he is Augustus. And being Augustus shall he not take vengeance for the evil deeds of the backsliders, and pursue them even unto Thessaly, the Thessaly, I say, of utter annihilation?

§ 4. Put off from you, ye Lombard race, the barbarism ye have acquired, and if aught of Trojan and Latin seed yet survive in you, give heed thereto, lest when the eagle from on high, swooping down like a thunderbolt, shall

[1] See p. 49, n. 6.

descend upon you, he find his own young cast out, and the place of his offspring usurped by a brood of ravens. Up then, ye sons of Scandinavia, and so far as ye may show yourselves eager for the presence of him whose advent ye now justly await with dread. And be not deceived by the wiles of avarice, which with a charm as of the Sirens of old is able to destroy the vigilance of your reason. Come before his presence with confession, submitting yourselves unto him, and sing a psalm of repentance unto him with joy, remembering that 'whosoever resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God'; and that whoso fighteth against the divine ordinance, kicketh against a will which is as the will of the Almighty; and 'it is hard to kick against the pricks'.

§ 5. But ye that groan under oppression, lift up your hearts, for your salvation is nigh at hand. Take the mattock of true humility, and break up the parched clods of your pride, making smooth the field of your minds, lest perchance the rain from heaven, coming before the seed has been sown, fall in vain from on high. Let not the grace of God be turned from you, as is the daily dew from the rock, but may ye conceive like a fertile valley, and put forth green, the green, that is, which shall be fruitful of true peace. And when your land shall be green with this verdure, the new husbandman of the Romans with greater love and more confidence shall yoke the oxen of his counsel to the plough. Forbear, forbear, from henceforth, well-beloved, who with me have suffered wrong, that the shepherd descended from Hector may recognize you as sheep of his fold. For though the temporal chastisement be committed to his hands from above, yet that he may be redolent of the goodness of Him, from whom, as from a point, the power of Peter and of Caesar doth bifurcate, he delighteth him in the correction of his household, but delighteth him yet more in showing them compassion.

§ 6. Wherefore if ye be not hindered by that inveterate sin, which oft-times, like a serpent, is thrown on its back, and is turned against itself, ye may hence both the one and the other of you perceive that peace is prepared for

each one, and may even now taste the first-fruits of the unlooked-for joy. Awake, therefore, all of you, and rise up to meet your King, ye inhabitants of Italy, as being reserved not only as subjects unto his sovereignty, but also as free peoples unto his guidance.

§ 7. And I urge you not only to rise up to meet him, but to stand in reverent awe[1] before his presence, ye who drink of his streams, and sail upon his seas; ye who tread the sands of the shores and the summits of the mountains that are his; ye who enjoy all public rights and possess all private property by the bond of his law, and no otherwise. Be ye not like the ignorant, deceiving your own selves, after the manner of them that dream, and say in their hearts, 'We have no Lord'. For all within the compass of the heavens is his garden and his lake; for 'the sea is God's, and He made it, and His hands prepared the dry land'. Wherefore it is made manifest by the wonders that have been wrought that God ordained the Roman Prince beforehand, and the Church confesses that He afterward confirmed him by the word of the Word.

§ 8. Verily if 'from the creation of the world the invisible things of God are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made', and if through the things that are known those that are unknown are revealed to us, it is without doubt within the capacity of human understanding to comprehend the Mover of the heavens, and His will, from the motion thereof. This pre-ordination then will be readily apprehended even by such as are but casual observers. For if we survey the past, from the first tiny spark of this fire, namely from the day when hospitality was denied to the Argives by the Phrygians, and, if time allow, review the events of the world's history down to the triumphs of Octavian, we shall see that certain of them have altogether transcended the highest pitch of human effort, and that God at times has wrought through man as though through new heavens. For it is not always we who act, but sometimes we are the instru-

[1] 'Obstupescatis'; see Dante's definition of 'stupore' in the *Convivio* (iv. 25, ll. 48 ff.).

ments of God; and the human will, in which liberty is by nature inherent, at times receives direction untrammelled by earthly affections, and subject to the Eternal Will oft-times unconsciously becomes the minister thereof.

§ 9. And if these things, which are as it were the preliminaries for the proof of what we seek, do not suffice, who is there who will not be compelled to agree with me in the conclusion drawn from such premisses, namely the fact that the whole world was wrapped in peace for twelve years, whereby is revealed, as with accomplished fact, the face of its Syllogizer, namely the Son of God? And He, when, after He had been made man for the revelation of the Spirit, He was preaching the gospel upon earth, as if He were dividing two kingdoms, apportioned the world to Himself and to Caesar, and bade that to each should be rendered the things that are his.

§ 10. But if an obstinate mind does not yet assent to the truth, and demands further proof, let it consider the words of Christ when He was bound; for when Pilate asserted his power against Him, our Light declared that power to be from above, of which he boasted who was exercising the office of Caesar by vicarious authority. 'Walk ye not therefore as the Gentiles walk, in the vanity of their senses, shrouded in darkness'; but open ye the eyes of your mind and behold how the Lord of heaven and of earth hath appointed us a king. This is he whom Peter, the Vicar of God, exhorts us to honour, and whom Clement, the present successor of Peter, illumines with the light of the Apostolic benediction; that where the spiritual ray suffices not, there the splendour of the lesser luminary may lend its light.

EPISTOLA VI

(*'Aeterni pia providentia Regis'*)

To the Florentines

[March 31, 1311]

MSS.—This letter, like *Epist.* i (to Niccolò da Prato), *Epist.* ii (to the Counts of Romena), *Epist.* iv (iii) (to Moroello Malaspina), and the three Battifolle letters (*Epist.* vii*, vii**, vii***), has been preserved only in the Cent. xiv Vatican MS. (*Cod. Vat.-Palat. Lat. 1729*), in which it occurs second in order of the nine letters contained in the MS., being placed between *Epist.* vii (to the Emperor Henry VII) and the first Battifolle letter (*Epist.* vii*).[1]

Printed Texts.[2]—1. Torri (1842): *Epist.* vi (*op. cit.*, pp. 36–42). 2. Fraticelli (1857): *Epist.* vi (*op. cit.*, pp. 474–82). 3. Giuliani (1882): *Epist.* vi (*op. cit.*, pp. 17–21). 4. A. Bartoli (1884): in *Storia della Letteratura Italiana* (Firenze, 1884; vol. v, pp. 225–8). 5. Scartazzini (1890): in *Prolegomeni della Divina Commedia* (Leipzig, 1890; pp. 106–9). 6. Moore (1894): *Epist.* vi (*op. cit.*, pp. 407–9). 7. Passerini (1910): *Epist.* vi (*op. cit.*, pp. 44–60). 8. Paget Toynbee (1912): (diplomatic transcript of the MS. text, together with collations of the various readings of the several printed editions of the letter, and a list of proposed emendations in the Oxford text) in *Modern Language Review* (vol. vii, pp. 14–19). 9. Paget Toynbee (1917): (emended text, with list of passages in which this text differs from that of the *Oxford Dante*) in *Modern Language Review* (vol. xii, pp. 182–6). 10. [Della Torre] (1917): *Epist.* x (*op. cit.*, pp. 255–63).

Translations.[2]—*Italian.* 1. Torri (1842): *op. cit.*, pp. 37–43. 2. Fraticelli (1857): *op. cit.*, pp. 475–83. 3. Passerin

[1] See above, p. 1.

[2] For titles of editions referred to here as already quoted, see above, pp. 1–2.

(1910): *op. cit.*, pp. 45–61. 4. Scherillo (1918): (extracts) *op. cit.*, vol. i, pp. 167–9.—*German.*[1] 1. Kannegiesser (1845): *op. cit.*, pp. 181–6. 2. Scartazzini (1879): (extracts) in *Dante Alighieri, seine Zeit, sein Leben und seine Werke* (pp. 392–3). 3. F. X. Wegele (1879): (extracts) in *Dante Alighieri's Leben und Werke* (Jena, 1897; pp. 234–7).—*English.* 1. Latham (1891): *op. cit.*, pp. 141–9. 2. Wicksteed (1898): in *A Provisional Translation of Dante's Political Letters* (pp. 10–15). 3. Wicksteed (1904): (revised trans.) in *Translation of the Latin Works of Dante Alighieri* (pp. 316–22). 4. Paget Toynbee (1917): in *Modern Language Review*, vol. xii, pp. 187–91 (*see below*, pp. 77–81).

AUTHENTICITY.—The authenticity of this letter, which, like those to the Princes and Peoples of Italy (*Epist.* v) and to the Emperor Henry VII (*Epist.* vii), was written by Dante in his own name,[2] is beyond question. It was known to Bruni, who refers to it in his *Vita di Dante*: 'Essendo [Dante] in questa speranza di ritornare per via di perdono, sopravvenne l' elezione d'Arrigo di Luzinborgo imperadore; per la cui elezione prima, e poi la passata sua, essendo tutta Italia sollevata in speranza di grandissime novità, Dante non potè tenere il proposito suo dell' aspettare grazia; ma, levatosi coll' animo altiero, cominciò a dir male di quelli che reggevano la terra, appellandoli scellerati e cattivi, e minacciando loro la debita vendetta per la potenza dell' imperadore, contro la quale diceva esser manifesto ch'essi non avrebbon potuto avere scampo alcuno.'[3] This letter is supposed (see Zenatti, *Dante e Firenze*, pp. 418–19) to have been known independently to Giannozzo Manetti, who in his *Vita Dantis* says that when the Emperor advanced to besiege Florence the hopes of the Florentine exiles who flocked to his camp ran high—'Proinde Dantes quoque se ulterius continere

[1] An abstract of the letter, with extracts from it in German, was published by Witte in 1838 in his article *Neu aufgefundene Briefe des Dante Allighieri* (see above, p. 2, n. 2), which was reprinted in his *Dante-Forschungen* (see vol. i, pp. 482–6).

[2] See above, p. 44.

[3] Ed. Bianchi, p. xxi.

non potuit, quin spe plenus epistolam quamdam ad Florentinos, ut ipse vocat intrinsecos contumeliosam sane scriberet, in qua eos acerbissime insectatur; quum ante hac de ipsis honorificentissime loqui solitus esset'—a statement which contains an unmistakable reference to the title of the letter ('scelestissimis Florentinis intrinsecis'). But Manetti is here simply echoing a passage in Bruni's *Historia Florentina*: 'Extat Dantis poetae epistola amarissimis referta contumeliis, quam ipse inani fiducia exultans, contra Florentinos, ut ipse vocat, intrinsecos scripsit; et quos ante id tempus honorificentissimis compellare solebat verbis, tunc huius (i.e. of the Emperor) spe supra modum elatus, acerbissime insectari non dubitat' (ed. 1610, p. 88). It may be noted, further, that Manetti states that the letter, which is dated March 31, 1311, was written at the time of the siege of Florence, which did not begin till the autumn of 1312. (See *Modern Language Review*, xiv. 111–12).

DATE.—This is one of three among the letters attributed to Dante which is specifically dated, the other two being the letter to the Emperor (*Epist.* vii), and the last Battifolle letter (*Epist.* vii***). In all three, while the day of the month (in this case March 31) is indicated in the usual manner by means of the Roman Calendar, the year is given as the first year of a new era, namely that of the advent of the Emperor into Italy—'faustissimi cursus Henrici Caesaris[1] ad Italiam anno primo' (i.e. 1311).

SUMMARY.—§ 1. The Holy Roman Empire divinely instituted for the proper governance of mankind, and for the maintenance of peace; as is testified both by the Scriptures and by pagan writers; and as is manifest from the fact that when the throne of Augustus is vacant the whole world goes out of course, Italy meanwhile being like a ship abandoned to the winds and waves. Wherefore let all who seek to oppose the will of God look for the divine vengeance, which is nigh at hand. § 2. The Florentines warned of the madness of their resistance to the Emperor, the minister of God, and of their design to set up an

[1] In *Epist.* vii, 'divi Henrici'.

independent sovereignty—if there be room for two temporal powers, why not for two spiritual powers also? Their head-strong wickedness certain to bring upon them condign punishment. § 3. Do they imagine that their paltry fortifications will avail to protect them from the wrath of the Emperor, which will be but the more inflamed against them by reason of their futile resistance? § 4. Their city doomed to destruction, and the inhabitants to death or captivity or exile—they shall suffer, in short, for their disloyalty all the miseries endured by the people of Saguntum for their loyalty. § 5. Let them not take confidence from the unlooked-for success of the men of Parma against the second Frederick, let them rather bethink them of the fate of Milan and Spoleto at the hands of Barbarossa. Insensate fools! not to perceive how they are rushing on their fate, in their resistance to the divine law, in the true observance of which is perfect liberty. § 6. Destruction awaits Florence a second time, if they repent not ere it be too late. Let them remember that Henry, the elect of God, has taken upon him his heavy task not for his own sake, but for the public weal; and if they hope for pardon let them consider that the hour for repentance is now at hand, for the impenitent sinner shall be smitten so that he shall surely die.

Dantes Alagherii[a] *Florentinus et exul immeritus scelestissimis Florentinis intrinsecis.*[1]

§ 1. Aeterni pia providentia Regis, qui dum coelestia sua bonitate perpetuat, infera nostra despiciendo non deserit, sacrosancto Romanorum imperio res humanas

MS. = *Cod. Vat.-Palat. Lat.* 1729 O. = *Oxford Dante*

[a] O. *Alighierius*

[1] This was the usual term for those within the city; cf. the title of Pope Clement IV's bull of Nov. 22, 1266: 'Universis civibus Florentinis intrinsecis et extrinsecis' (*apud* Potthast, *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum*, No. 19878).

disposuit gubernandas, ut sub tanti serenitate praesidii genus mortale quiesceret, et ubique, natura poscente, civiliter degeretur.[1] Hoc etsi divinis comprobatur elogiis [a] [2], hoc etsi solius podio rationis innixa contestatur antiquitas,[3] non leviter tamen veritati applaudit, quod [b] solio Augustali vacante totus orbis exorbitat,[4] quod nauclerus et remiges in navicula Petri dormitant,[5] et quod Italia misera, sola, privatis arbitriis derelicta, omnique [c] publico moderamine destituta, quanta ventorum fluctuumque [d] concussione feratur [6] verba non caperent,[7] sed et vix Itali [e] infelices lacrymis metiuntur. Igitur in hanc Dei manifestissimam voluntatem quicumque temere praesumendo tumescunt, si gladius eius qui

[a] O. *eloquiis* [b] MS. *sed* [c] MS. *omnibusque* [d] MS. *fluentuum ue* [e] MS. *italie*

[1] Cf. *Conv.* iv. 4, ll. 111–31; 5, ll. 60–9; *Mon.* i. 5; ii. 1, ll. 11–20.

[2] The substitution of *eloquiis* for *elogiis* is quite uncalled for. Papias says: '*Elogium*, titulus cuiuslibet rei, proverbium, . . . eloquium . . . divinum responsum'; and Uguccione da Pisa and Giovanni da Genova: '*hoc elogium*, idest proverbium et responsum divinum . . . et textus carminum . . . vel deorum mysterium; unde *hic elogius*, versiculus'. Du Cange quotes instances of the use of *elogium* in Cent. xii and xiv in the sense of *testamentum*, in which sense it occurs repeatedly in the Pandects of Justinian. On the other hand the phrase *divina eloquia* occurs twice (in at least one MS., as well as in the printed editions) in the *De Monarchia* (iii. 4, l. 88; 10, l. 13; cf. ii. 9, l. 101).

[3] That is, it is testified to both by the Scriptures and by pagan writers; for the latter, cf. *Mon.* ii. 4, ll. 23–70.

[4] Cf. *Epist.* viii. 45–6.

[5] Cf. *Par.* xi. 119: 'la barca di Pietro'; and *Conv.* iv. 5, l. 67: 'la nave della umana compagnia'.

[6] Cf. *Purg.* vi. 76–7: 'Italia . . . Nave senza nocchiere in gran tempesta'; cf. also *Mon.* i. 16, ll. 26 ff.

[7] Cf. *Epist.* iii (iv). 14–15.

dicit, 'mea est ultio',[1] de coelo non cecidit, ex nunc severi iudicis adventante iudicio pallore notentur.

§ 2. Vos autem divina iura et humana transgredientes, quos dira cupiditatis ingluvies paratos in omne nefas illexit, nonne terror secundae mortis[2] exagitat, ex quo, primi et soli iugum libertatis[3] horrentes, in Romani principis, Mundi regis et Dei ministri, gloriam fremuistis[4]; atque iure praescriptionis utentes, debitae subiectionis officium denegando, in rebellionis vesaniam maluistis insurgere?[5] An ignoratis, amentes et discoli,[6] publica iura cum sola temporis terminatione finiri, et nullius praescriptionis calculo fore obnoxia[a]? Nempe legum sanctiones almae[b][7] declarant, et humana ratio percunctando decernit, publica rerum dominia, quantalibet diuturnitate neglecta, nunquam posse vanescere vel abstenuata conquiri[c]. Nam quod ad omnium cedit utilitatem, sine omnium detrimento interire non potest, vel etiam infirmari. Et hoc Deus et natura non vult, et mortalium penitus abhorreret adsensus[d]. Quid[e] fatua tali opinione submota, tamquam alteri Babylonii,[8] pium deserentes imperium nova regna tentatis, ut alia sit Florentina civilitas, alia sit Romana? Cur apostolicae[f]

[a] MS. *obnoxias* [b] O. *altissime* [c] MS. *conqueri* [d] MS. *ascensus* [e] MS. *quod* [f] MS. *apostolocice*

[1] *Deut.* xxxii. 35. [2] *Rev.* xxi. 8; cf. *Inf.* i. 117.
[3] Cf. *Epist.* i. 29: 'iugum piae legis'; and ll. 157–60 of this letter.
[4] Cf. *Mon.* ii. 1, ll. 22–3. [5] Cf. *Epist.* vii. 155.
[6] 1 *Peter* ii. 18. [7] See note on *Epist.* v, *tit.* 2.
[8] By *Babylonii* here Dante evidently means the builders of the Tower of Babel; cf. *Gen.* xi. 4: 'Venite, faciamus nobis civitatem, et turrim. . .'.

monarchiae similiter invidere non libet; ut si Delia geminatur in coelo, geminetur et Delius?[1] Atqui si male ausa[2] rependere vobis non est terrori,[a 3] territet saltem [b] obstinata praecordia, quod non modo sapientia, sed initium eius[4] ad poenam culpae vobis ablatum est. Nulla etenim conditio delinquentis formidolosior, quam impudenter et sine Dei timore quidquid libet agentis. Hac nimirum persaepe animadversione percutitur impius, ut moriens obliviscatur sui, qui dum viveret oblitus est Dei.

§ 3. Sin prorsus arrogantia vestra insolens adeo roris altissimi, ceu cacumina Gelboe,[5] vos fecit exsortes, ut senatus aeterni consulto restitisse timori non fuerit, nec etiam non timuisse timetis; numquid timor ille perniciosus, humanus videlicet atque mundanus, abesse poterit, superbissimi vestri sanguinis vestraeque multum lacrymandae rapinae inevitabili naufragio properante? An septi vallo ridiculo cuiquam defensioni confiditis [c]? O male concordes! O mira cupidine obcaecati [d 6]! Quid

[a] MS., O. *vobis terrori non est* [b] MS. *saltin* [c] MS. *confidetis* [d] MS., O. *caecati*

[1] That is, the Moon and the Sun, typifying, as 'the lesser and the greater light', the Empire and the Papacy—see *Epist.* v. 169–70, and note.

[2] Cf. *Epist.* vii. 152.

[3] The MS. reading violates the *cursus*; the reading in the text follows a suggestion of Parodi (see *Bull. Soc. Dant. Ital.*, N.S. xix. 258).

[4] *Psalm* cx. 10: 'initium sapientiae timor Domini'.

[5] 2 *Sam.* i. 21; cf. *Purg.* xii. 41–2.

[6] The MS. reading violates the *cursus*; the reading in the text is due to a suggestion of Parodi (*Bull. Soc. Dant. Ital.*, N.S. xix. 258), who proposes *occaecati*. The word *obcaecare* occurs several times in the Vulgate (e.g. *Ecclus.* xxv. 24; xliii. 4; *Mark* vi. 52; 1 *John* ii. 11); the phrase 'obcaecati cupiditate' occurs in Cicero's *De Finibus* (i. 10), a work with which Dante was familiar.

vallo sepsisse, quid propugnaculis vos[a] et pinnis[b 1] armasse iuvabit,[2] quum advolaverit aquila in auro terribilis,[3] quae nunc Pirenen, nunc Caucason, nunc Atlanta[4] supervolans, militiae coeli[5] magis confortata sufflamine[6] vasta maria quondam transvolando despexit? Quid, quum adfore stupescetis, miserrimi hominum, delirantis Hesperiae[7] domitorem? Non equidem spes quam frustra

[a] MS. omits *vos* [b] O. *p. et p. vos*

[1] This reading follows a suggestion of Parodi (*loc. cit.*).

[2] This refers to the fortifications hastily erected by the Florentines in the previous winter in order to withstand the Emperor, who had crossed the Alps into Italy at the end of October; cf. Villani (ix. 10): 'Nel detto anno il dì di sant' Andrea [Nov. 30, 1310], i Fiorentini per tema della venuta dello 'mperadore sì ordinarono a chiudere la città di fossi dalla porta a San Gallo infino alla porta di santo Ambrogio . . . e poi infino al fiume d'Arno: e poi, dalla porta di San Gallo infino a quella dal Prato d'Ognissanti, erano già fondate le mura, sì le feciono inalzare otto braccia. E questo lavoro fu fatto subito e in poco tempo, la qual cosa fermamente fu poi lo scampo della città di Firenze . . . imperciocchè la città era tutta schiusa, e le mura vecchie quasi gran parte disfatte, e vendute a' prossimani vicini per allargare la città vecchia, e chiudere i borghi e la giunta nuova.'

[3] The Imperial standard was a black eagle on a field of gold ('il campo ad oro e l' aguglia nera', Villani, iv. 4); this no doubt was what Dante imagined the ancient Roman standard to have been (cf. *Purg.* x. 80–1: 'l'aquile nell' oro . . . in vista al vento si movieno', of the standards of the Emperor Trajan).

[4] Representing respectively the W.-most, E.-most, and S.-most mountain ranges of the then civilized world.

[5] *Deut.* xvii. 3; *Acts* vii. 42.

[6] *Sufflamen* is here used not in its classical sense of 'drag' or 'check', but in its mediaeval sense of 'support'. Uguccione da Pisa and Giovanni da Genova say: '*Sufflare*, idest *appodiare, fulcire, appodiamen supponere*; unde *hoc sufflamen . . . appodiamen*, scilicet cui aliquid innititur ut sustentetur'.

[7] Cf. 'delirantis aevi familiam' in the first Battifolle letter (*Epist.* vii*).

sine more fovetis, reluctantia ista iuvabitur, sed hac obice[a] iusti regis adventus inflammabitur amplius[b], ac indignata misericordia semper concomitans eius exercitum avolabit; et quo falsae libertatis trabeam[1] tueri existimatis, eo verae servitutis in ergastula concidetis[c]. Miro namque Dei iudicio quandoque agi credendum est, ut unde digna supplicia impius[d] declinare arbitratur, inde[e] in ea gravius praecipitetur; et qui divinae voluntati reluctatus est et sciens et volens, eidem militet nesciens atque nolens.[2]

§ 4. Videbitis aedificia vestra non necessitati prudenter instructa, sed delitiis inconsulte mutata, quae Pergama rediviva[3] non cingunt, tam ariete ruere, tristes, quam igne cremari. Videbitis plebem circumquaque furentem nunc in contraria, pro et contra, deinde[f] in idem adversus vos horrenda clamantem, quoniam simul et[g] ieiuna[h] et timida nescit esse.[4] Templa quoque spoliata, quotidie matronarum frequentata concursu, parvulosque admirantes et inscios peccata patrum luere destinatos[5] videre pigebit. Et si praesaga mens[6] mea

[a] MS. *abice* [b] MS. *ampius* [c] MS. *cancidetis* [d] MS. *ipius*
[e] MS. *unde* [f] MS. *unde* [g] MS. omits *et* [h] MS. *ienuna*

[1] *Trabea*, which Fraticelli renders by 'bandiera', and Latham by 'robe', is here used in the mediaeval sense, explained by Uguccione da Pisa and Giovanni da Genova as 'porticus tecta trabibus', that is literally, a 'porch'. [2] Cf. *Epist.* v. 135–41.

[3] As Moore notes in *Studies in Dante* (i. 179), Virgil in three passages in the *Aeneid* (iv. 344; vii. 322; x. 58) speaks of 'recidiva Pergama', for which in two out of the three there is a variant 'rediviva', which no doubt was the reading of the MS. used by Dante. [4] Lucan, *Phars.* iii. 58: 'Nescit plebes ieiuna timere'.

[5] Cf. *Par.* vi. 109–10: 'Molte fiate già pianser li figli Per la colpa del padre'. [6] Cf. *Aen.* x. 843: 'praesaga mali mens'.

non fallitur, sic signis veridicis, sicut inexpugnabilibus argumentis instructa praenuntians, urbem diutino moerore confectam in manus alienorum tradi finaliter, plurima vestri parte seu nece [a] seu captivitate [b] deperdita, perpessuri [c] exilium pauci cum fletu cernetis. Utque breviter colligam, quas tulit calamitates illa civitas gloriosa in fide pro libertate, Saguntum,[1] ignominiose vos eas in perfidia pro servitute subire necesse est.

§ 5. Nec ab inopina Parmensium fortuna sumatis audaciam, qui, malesuada fame [2] urgente, murmurantes in invicem, 'prius moriamur [d] et in media arma ruamus',[3] in castra Caesaris, absente Caesare, proruperunt. Nam et hi, quamquam de Victoria victoriam sint [e 4] adepti,[5]

[a] MS. *neci* [b] MS. *captivitati* [c] MS. *perpeirsuri* [d] O. *murmurantes invicem prius 'moriamur* [e] O. *sunt*

[1] Saguntum (an ancient town on the E. coast of Spain, on the site of the present Murviedro) was on friendly terms with the Romans, and its siege by Hannibal (219–218 B.C.) was the immediate cause of the Second Punic War. The horrors of the siege, which lasted nine months, are described in detail by St. Augustine in the *De Civitate Dei* (iii. 20), who was doubtless Dante's authority. St. Augustine lays great stress on the fact that the Saguntines underwent all these horrors rather than break faith with Rome—'ne Romanis frangerent fidem'.

[2] *Aen.* vi. 276.

[3] *Aen.* ii. 353. The phrase *in invicem*, the reading of the MS. in the previous clause, occurs frequently in the Vulgate (e. g. *John* vi. 43; *Rom.* i. 27; xiv. 19; 1 *Thess.* iii. 12; v. 15; 2 *Thess.* i. 3). This correction restores the *cursus*—'(murmur)ántes in ínvicem' (*tardus*)—which also shows that *prius* was intended by Dante to form part of the quotation, the required pause coming not at that word but at *invicem*.

[4] Dante invariably uses *quamquam* with the subjunctive.

[5] The reference is to an incident during the siege of Parma by Frederick II in 1248, which is related by Villani (vi. 34). The

nihilominus ibi sunt de dolore dolorem memorabiliter consecuti. Sed recensete fulmina Federici prioris; et Mediolanum consulite pariter et Spoletum[1]; quoniam ipsorum perversione simul et eversione discussa viscera vestra nimium dilatata frigescent, et corda vestra nimium ferventia contrahentur.[2] Ha[a] Tuscorum vanissimi, tam natura quam vitio insensati[b]! Quam[c] in noctis tenebris malesanae mentis pedes[3] oberrent ante oculos pennatorum,[4] nec perpenditis nec[d] figuratis ignari.

[a] O. *Ah* [b] MS. *incensati* [c] O. *Quantum* [d] MS. omits *nec*

Emperor, in order to hasten the reduction of the town, built a fortress to face it which he called Victoria. One day, however, while the Emperor was absent on a hunting expedition, the Parmesans, rendered desperate by famine, made a sortie, and captured and destroyed the fortress, taking at the same time an immense booty including the Imperial crown, and forcing the Emperor to retire to Cremona.

[1] Villani records (v. 1) how the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa besieged and destroyed Spoleto in 1152, and Milan in 1157, the site of the latter being ploughed and sown with salt; cf. *Purg.* xviii. 119–20.

[2] One might be tempted at first sight to suggest that the verbs in these two sentences have accidentally got transposed; but the *cursus*—'(dila)táta frigéscent' (*planus*), '(fer)véntia còntrahéntur' (*velox*)—proves that no such hypothesis is admissible.

[3] A bold metaphor, with which may be compared 'humana ratio propriis pedibus' (*Mon.* ii. 8, l. 9); 'spatulas iudicii' (*V. E.* i. 6, l. 22); and 'piedi del coto' (*Par.* iii. 26–7).

[4] 'Pennati', i.e. those who have attained to years of discretion, men of experience. Cf. *Prov.* i. 17, and *Purg.* xxxi. 61–3: 'Nuovo augelletto due o tre aspetta; Ma dinanzi dagli occhi dei pennuti Rete si spiega indarno o si saetta.' Pistelli (*Bull. Soc. Dant. Ital.*, N.S. xxiv. 64) makes the plausible suggestion that the words 'et rete frustra iaciatur' have been accidentally omitted by the copyist, and that the sentence should read: 'Quam in noctis tenebris malesanae mentis pedes oberrent, et rete frustra iaciatur ante oculos pennatorum'.

Vident namque vos pennati et immaculati in via,[1] quasi stantes in limine [a] carceris, et miserantem quempiam, ne forte vos liberet captivatos et [b 2] in compedibus adstrictos et manicis, propulsantes. Nec advertitis [c] dominantem cupidinem, quia caeci estis, venenoso susurrio [d 3] blandientem, minis frustatoriis [4] cohibentem, nec non captivantem [e] vos in lege peccati,[5] ac sacratissimis legibus, quae iustitiae naturalis imitantur imaginem, parere vetantem; observantia quarum, si laeta, si libera, non tantum non servitus esse probatur, quin immo, perspicaciter intuenti, liquet [6] ut [f] est ipsa summa libertas. Nam quid aliud haec nisi liber cursus voluntatis in actum, quem suis leges mansuetis expediunt? Itaque solis existentibus liberis qui voluntarie legi obediunt, quos [g] vos esse censebitis, qui, dum praetenditis libertatis affectum, contra leges universas in legum principem conspiratis?

[a] MS. *lumine* [b] MS. *etiam* [c] MS. *aduertis* [d] O. *susurro* [e] MS. *captiuitatem* [f] O. *quin immo perspicaciter intuenti liquet, ut* [g] MS. *quas*

[1] *Psalm* cxviii. 1.

[2] Pistelli (*loc. cit.*) suggests that for the *etiam* ($\bar{e}$) of the MS. the correct reading may be *et iam*.

[3] *Susurrium* was a recognized mediaeval form; Giovanni da Genova, s. v. *susurro*, says: 'unde *hoc susurrium, -rii*, murmur, latens locutio', and he quotes as an instance *Job* iv. 12, where, however, the modern Vulgate reads not *susurrii* but *susurri*. Du Cange quotes instances of the word from St. Jerome and St. Bernard. This correction restores the *cursus*—'(su)súrrio blàndiéntem' (*velox*).

[4] Presumably for *frustratoriis*. Wicksteed renders 'with scourging threats', as though the word were connected with Italian *frustare*, 'to whip'; but there seems to be no warrant for this.

[5] *Rom.* vii. 23.

[6] The *cursus*—'(perspi)cáciter ìntuénti' (*velox*)—shows that the pause comes not at *liquet* but at *intuenti*.

§ 6. O miserrima Faesulanorum propago,[1] et iterum iam punita [a 2] barbaries! An parum timoris praelibata incutiunt? Omnino vos tremere arbitror vigilantes, quamquam spem simuletis in facie verboque mendaci, atque in somniis expergisci plerumque, sive pavescentes infusa praesagia, sive diurna consilia recolentes. Verum si merito trepidantes insanisse poenitet non dolentes,[3] ut in amaritudinem poenitentiae metus dolorisque rivuli [b] confluant, vestris animis infigenda supersunt, quod Romanae rei baiulus,[4] hic divus [c 5] et triumphator[6]

[a] O. *Punica* [b] MS. *riuoli* [c] O. *baiulus hic, divus*

[1] Cf. *Inf.* xv. 61–2: 'Quell' ingrato popolo maligno, Che discese di Fiesole ab antico'; and l. 73: 'le bestie Fiesolane', i.e. the Florentines. According to the Florentine tradition, Fiesole, after being besieged by Julius Caesar for nearly nine years, was destroyed by the Romans, who then founded Florence, which was peopled with a mixture of Romans and Fiesolans (cf. Villani, i. 31–8).

[2] The *Punica* of the Oxford text is due to a misreading of the MS. by the original transcriber. The correction is due in the first place to W. Meyer (see his *Fragmenta Burana*, Berlin, 1901, pp. 156–7), who suspected *Punica*, not only on account of the doubtful Latinity of the phrase 'iterum iam Punica barbaries', but also as violating the *cursus*, which is restored—'(pu)níta barbáries' (*tardus*)—by the correction. There is no doubt as to the MS. reading. Dante here threatens the Florentines with the destruction of their city a second time, the first having been, as he and his contemporaries believed, at the hands of Attila (cf. *Inf.* xiii. 148–9), or Totila (cf. Villani, ii. 1; iii. 1). (See Moore, *Studies in Dante*, iv. 280–1.) As a matter of fact there appears to be no truth in the tradition (which doubtless arose from a confusion of Attila with Totila, King of the Ostrogoths, by whose forces Florence was besieged in 542) that Florence was destroyed either by Attila or Totila.

[3] Cf. 2 *Cor.* vii. 9–10.

[4] Cf. *Par.* vi. 73.

[5] All the editors punctuate 'baiulus hic, divus'; but the *cursus*—'(Romanae) réi báiulus' (*m*)—shows that *hic* belongs to the next clause, as indeed all the Italian editors recognize in their translation, which is in contradiction with their text.

[6] Cf. *Epist.* vii *tit.*

Henricus, non sua privata sed publica mundi commoda sitiens, ardua pro[a] nobis aggressus est, sua sponte poenas nostras participans, tamquam ad ipsum, post Christum, digitum prophetiae propheta direxerit Isaïas, quum, Spiritu Dei revelante, praedixit: 'Vere languores nostros ipse tulit, et dolores nostros ipse portavit.'[1] Igitur tempus amarissime poenitendi vos temere[b] praesumptorum[c], si dissimulare non vultis, adesse conspicitis. Et sera poenitentia hoc a modo[2] veniae genitiva non erit; quin potius tempestivae animadversionis exordium. Est enim: quoniam peccator percutitur ut sine retractatione moriatur.[d 3]

Scriptum[e] pridie Kalendas[f] Apriles[g] in finibus Tusciae[4] sub fonte[h] Sarni,[5] faustissimi cursus Henrici Caesaris ad Italiam anno primo.[6]

[a] MS. *quod*; O. *quaeque pro* [b] MS. *tremere* [c] MS. *presuptorum*
[d] MS. *riuantur*; O. *revertatur* [e] MS. *Scripsit* [f] O. *prid. Kal.*
[g] MS. *aprileis*; O. *Aprilis* [h] O. *fontem*

[1] *Isaiah* liii. 4.

[2] That is, repentance without sorrow (l. 177); there is no doubt a reference to 2 *Cor.* vii. 9–10.

[3] The MS. reading is obviously corrupt; the emendation in the text is due to Moore, who thinks it probable that Dante had in mind the Biblical phrase in the Vulgate (1 *Sam.* xiv. 39): 'absque retractatione morietur' (the only instance of the word *retractatio* in the Vulgate). (See *Studies in Dante*, iv. 281–3.)

[4] Dante was probably at this time the guest of Guido Novello di Battifolle, at the castle of Poppi, in the Casentino (cf. the colophon of the third Battifolle letter, *Epist.* vii***).

[5] See note on *Epist.* iv (iii). 13. The Arno rises, at the height of over 4,000 ft. above the sea, among the spurs of Falterona in the Tuscan Apennines. The castle of Poppi is situated on the Arno some fifteen miles below its actual source.

[6] See above, p. 65.

TRANSLATION

Dante Alighieri, a Florentine undeservedly in exile, to the most iniquitous Florentines within the city.

§ 1. The gracious providence of the Eternal King, who in his goodness ever rules the affairs of the world above, yet ceases not to look down upon our concerns here below, committed to the Holy Roman Empire the governance of human affairs, to the end that mankind might repose in the peace of so powerful a protection, and everywhere, as nature demands, might live as citizens of an ordered world. And though the proof of this is to be found in holy writ, and though the ancients relying on reason alone bear witness thereto, yet is it no small confirmation of the truth, that when the throne of Augustus is vacant, the whole world goes out of course, the helmsman and rowers slumber in the ship of Peter, and unhappy Italy, forsaken and abandoned to private control, and bereft of all public guidance, is tossed with such buffeting of winds and waves as no words can describe, nay as even the Italians in their woe can scarce measure with their tears. Wherefore let all who in mad presumption have risen up against this most manifest will of God, now grow pale at the thought of the judgement of the stern Judge, which is nigh at hand, if so be the sword of Him who saith, 'Vengeance is mine', be not fallen out of heaven.

§ 2. But you, who transgress every law of God and man, and whom the insatiable greed of avarice has urged all too willing into every crime, does the dread of the second death not haunt you, seeing that you first and you alone, shrinking from the yoke of liberty, have murmured against the glory of the Roman Emperor, the king of the earth, and minister of God; and under cover of prescriptive right, refusing the duty of submission due to him, have chosen rather to rise up in the madness of rebellion? Have you to learn, senseless and perverse[1] as you are, that public right can be subject to no reckoning by

[1] 'Discoli'—the word occurs in the Vulgate (1 *Peter* ii. 18).

prescription, but must endure so long as time itself endures? Verily the sacred precepts of the law declare, and human reason after inquiry has decided, that public control of affairs, however long neglected, can never become of no effect, nor be superseded, however much it be weakened. For nothing which tends to the advantage of all can be destroyed, or even impaired, without injury to all—a thing contrary to the intention of God and nature, and which would be utterly abhorrent to the opinion of all mankind. Wherefore, then, being disabused of such an idle conceit, do you abandon the Holy Empire, and, like the men of Babel once more, seek to found new kingdoms, so that there shall be one polity of Florence, and another of Rome? And why should not the Apostolic government be the object of a like envy, so that, if the one twin of Delos have her double in the heavens, the other should have his likewise[1]? But if reflection upon your evil designs bring you no fears, at least let this strike terror into your hardened hearts, that as the penalty for your crime not only wisdom, but the beginning of wisdom,[2] has been taken from you. For no condition of the sinner is more terrible than that of him who, shamelessly and without the fear of God, does whatsoever he lists. Full often, indeed, the wicked man is smitten with this punishment, that as during life he has been oblivious of God, so when he dies he is rendered oblivious of himself.

§ 3. But if your insolent arrogance has so deprived you of the dew from on high, like the mountain-tops of Gilboa, that you have not feared to resist the decree of the eternal senate, and have felt no fear at not having feared, shall that deadly fear, to wit human and worldly fear, not overwhelm you, when the inevitable shipwreck of your proud race, and the speedy end of your deeply to be rued lawlessness, shall be seen to be hard at hand? Do you put

[1] 'Delia' and 'Delius' (Diana and Apollo), that is, the Moon and the Sun, typifying, as 'the lesser and the greater light', the Empire and the Papacy (cf. *Mon.* iii. 4, ll. 10–21).

[2] 'The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom' (*Psalm* cxi. 10).

your trust in defences, in that you are girt about by a contemptible rampart? O you of one mind only for evil! O you blinded by wondrous greed! What shall it avail you to have girt you with a rampart, and to have fortified yourselves with bulwarks and battlements, when, terrible in gold, the eagle shall swoop down upon you, which, soaring now over the Pyrenees, now over Caucasus, now over Atlas, ever strengthened by the support of the host of heaven, gazed down of old on the vast expanse of ocean in its flight? What shall these avail you, most wretched of men, when you stand confounded in the presence of him who shall subdue the raging of Hesperia? The hopes which you vainly cherish in your unreason will not be furthered by your rebellion; but by this resistance the just wrath of the king at his coming will be but the more inflamed against you, and mercy, which ever accompanies his army, shall fly away indignant; and where you think to defend the threshold of false liberty, there in sooth shall you fall into the dungeon of slavery. For by the wondrous judgement of God, as we must believe, it sometimes comes to pass that by the very means whereby the wicked man thinks to escape the punishment which is his due, he is the more fatally hurried into it; and that he who wittingly and willingly is a rebel against the divine will, is unwittingly and unwillingly a soldier in its service.

§ 4. The buildings which you have raised, not in prudence to serve your needs, but have recklessly altered to gratify your wantonness, these, encircled by no walls of a renovated Troy, to your grief you shall see crumble beneath the battering-ram, and devoured by the flames. The populace which now, divided against itself, rages indiscriminately, some for you, some against you, you shall then see united in their imprecations against you, for the starving mob knows nothing of fear. With remorse, too, you shall behold the spoliation of your temples, thronged daily by a concourse of matrons, and your children doomed in wonder and ignorance to suffer for the sins of their fathers. And if my prophetic soul be not deceived, which announces what it has been taught by

infallible signs and incontrovertible arguments, your city, worn out with ceaseless mourning, shall be delivered at the last into the hands of the stranger, after the greatest part of you has been destroyed in death or captivity; and the few that shall be left to endure exile shall witness her downfall with tears and lamentation. Those sufferings, in short, which for liberty's sake the glorious city of Saguntum endured in her loyalty, you in your disloyalty must undergo with shame but to become slaves.

§ 5. And beware of gathering confidence from the unlooked-for success of the men of Parma, who under the spur of hunger, that evil counsellor, murmuring to one another, 'Let us rather rush into the midst of battle and meet death', broke into the camp of Caesar while Caesar was absent. For even they, though they gained a victory over Victoria, none the less reaped woe from that woe in a way not like to be forgotten. But bethink you of the thunderbolts of the first Frederick; consider the fate of Milan and of Spoleto; for at the remembrance of their disobedience and swift overthrow your too swollen flesh shall grow chill, and your too hot hearts shall contract.[1] O most foolish of the Tuscans, insensate alike by nature and by corruption, who neither consider nor understand in your ignorance how before the eyes of the full-fledged the feet of your diseased minds go astray in the darkness of night! For the full-fledged and undefiled in the way behold you standing as it were on the threshold of the prison, and thrusting aside any that has pity on you, lest haply he should deliver you from captivity and loose you from the chains that bind your hands and your feet. Nor are ye ware in your blindness of the overmastering greed which beguiles you with venomous whispers, and with cheating threats constrains you, yea, and has brought you into captivity to the law of sin, and forbidden you to obey the most sacred laws; those laws made in the likeness of natural justice, the observance whereof, if it be joyous, if it be free, is not only no servitude, but to him who observes with under-

[1] See p. 73, n. 2.

standing is manifestly in itself the most perfect liberty. For what else is this liberty but the free passage from will to act, which the laws make easy for those who obey them? Seeing, then, that they only are free who of their own will submit to the law, what do you call yourselves, who, while you make pretence of a love of liberty, in defiance of every law conspire against the Prince who is the giver of the law?

§ 6. O most wretched offshoot of Fiesole! O barbarians punished now a second time! Does the foretaste not suffice to terrify you? Of a truth I believe that, for all you simulate hope in your looks and lying lips, yet you tremble in your waking hours, and ever start from your dreams in terror at the portents which have visited you, or rehearsing again the counsels you have debated by day. But if, while alarmed with good reason, you repent you of your madness, yet feel no remorse, then, that the streams of fear and remorse may unite in the bitter waters of repentance, bear this further in mind, that the guardian of the Roman Empire, the triumphant Henry, elect of God, thirsting not for his own but for the public good, has for our sakes undertaken his heavy task, sharing our pains of his own free will, as though to him, after Christ, the prophet Isaiah had pointed the finger of prophecy, when by the revelation of the Spirit of God he declared, 'Surely he hath borne our griefs, and carried our sorrows'. Wherefore you perceive, if you be not dissemblers, that the hour of bitter repentance for your mad presumption is now at hand. But a late repentance after this wise will not purchase pardon, rather is it but the prelude to seasonable chastisement. For 'the sinner is smitten so that he shall surely die'.

Written from beneath the springs of Arno, on the confines of Tuscany, on the thirty-first day of March in the first year of the most auspicious passage of the Emperor Henry into Italy.

EPISTOLA VII

('*Immensa Dei dilectione testante*')

To the Emperor Henry VII

[April 17, 1311]

MSS.—The Latin text of this letter (which, like that to the Princes and Peoples of Italy (*Epist.* v), was first known in an early Italian translation,[1] formerly attributed to Marsilio Ficino) has been preserved in three MSS., two of the fourteenth century, namely the Vatican MS. (*Cod. Vat.-Palat. Lat. 1729*) already mentioned, in which it occurs first of the nine letters attributed to Dante in the MS.[2]; and *Cod. S. Pantaleo 8* in the Biblioteca Vittorio Emanuele at Rome, which contains also an Italian translation of the letter, as well as the Latin text of *Epist.* v[3]; and one of the fifteenth century (*Cod. Marciano Latino xiv. 115*) in the Biblioteca Marciana at Venice.[4] The relationships between these three texts it is not easy to determine. A careful collation shows that V. and P., the two four-

[1] See below, p. 84. The existence of the Latin text was recorded in the seventeenth century by Lorenzo Pignoria of Padua (1571–1631), who in his notes to the *De Rebus Gestis Henrici VII* of Albertino Mussato mentions that he had in his own possession a MS. of it: 'Dantes vatum clarissimus hisce diebus epistolam scripsit Henrico, quam nacti in pervetusto codice nostro manuscripto publici iuris facere decrevimus, et describi curavimus seorsum in calce spicilegii nostri, cum aliis nonnullis eiusdem aevi monumentis; et eiusdem epistolae meminit Jo Villanus, lib. 9, cap. 35. Quam etiam Italicè redditam vidimus et editam Florentiae, anno 1547' (see Muratori, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, x. 385).

[2] See above, p. 1.

[3] See above, p. 42.

[4] This is the MS. from which Witte first printed the Latin text. Witte's attention having been drawn to the fact that extracts from the letter in Latin were printed in the Catalogue of the Biblioteca Muranese, search was made, through the kind offices of the Marchese Gian Giacomo Trivulzio, by the Abate Giovanni Antonio Moschini, the Prefetto of the Biblioteca Marciana, whither the

teenth-century MSS. (Vatican and S. Pantaleo), are in agreement, as against M. (the Marcian MS.), in 75 instances [1]; while P. and M. are in agreement, as against V., in 25 instances [2]; and V. and M., as against P., in 18 instances.[3] A strong link between P. and M., as against V., is the fact that these two contain both title and colophon of the letter (though not in entirely identical terms), which are omitted in V. On the other hand, M. omits a passage of several lines (ll. 152–4 in the Oxford text) which is found in both V. and P., and contains a large number of blunders [4] which are absent from the other two. A consideration of the data seems to warrant the conclusion that the relationship between V. and P. is on the whole closer than that of either of them to M.[5]

PRINTED TEXTS.[6]—1. Witte (1827): *Epist.* vi (*op. cit.*, pp. 30–46). 2. Fraticelli (1840): *Epist.* iii (*op. cit.*, pp. 230–49). 3. Torri (1842): *Epist.* vii (*op. cit.*, pp. 52–60). 4. Fraticelli (1857): *Epist.* vii (*op. cit.*, pp. 488–98). 5. Giuliani (1882): *Epist.* vii (*op. cit.*, pp. 22–6). 6. Bartoli (1884): in *Storia della Letteratura Italiana* (vol. v, pp. 233–6). 7. Scartazzini (1890): in *Prolegomeni della Divina Commedia* (pp. 111–15). 8. Moore (1894): *Epist.* vii (*op. cit.*, pp. 409–11). 9. Passerini (1910): *Epist.* vii (*op. cit.*, pp. 62–78). 10. Paget Toynbee (1912): (diplomatic transcript of the Vatican text, together with collations of the various readings of the several printed editions

spoils of the Murano library had been transferred, with the result that the MS. containing the letter was discovered, and placed at Witte's disposal for the purposes of his projected edition of Dante's letters, afterwards issued at Padua in 1827.

[1] See *Appendix* D. i. [2] See *Appendix* D. ii.

[3] See *Appendix* D. iii. [4] See *Appendix* D. i.

[5] Parodi, however, as it seems to me on insufficient data, thinks that P. and M. belong to the same family (see *Bull. Soc. Dant. Ital.*, N.S. xix. 253; xxii. 140). P. Wagner, on the other hand, places V. and M. in one group, and P. in another (see *Die Echtheit der drei Kaiserbriefe Dantes*, Köln, 1907, p. 11).

[6] For titles of editions referred to here as already quoted, see above, pp. 1–2.

of the letter and a list of proposed emendations in the Oxford text) in *Modern Language Review* (vol. vii, pp. 6–12). 11. Paget Toynbee (1912): (diplomatic transcript of the S. Pantaleo text, together with collations of the Vatican and Venetian texts, and a further list of proposed emendations in the Oxford text) in *Modern Language Review* (vol. vii, pp. 209–14). 12. Paget Toynbee (1912): (diplomatic transcript of the Venetian text, together with collations of the Vatican and S. Pantaleo texts) in *Modern Language Review* (vol. vii, pp. 434–40). 13. Paget Toynbee (1915): (critical text, together with collations of the Vatican, S. Pantaleo, and Venetian texts, and of the various readings of the several printed editions of the letter, and list of passages in which this text differs from that of the *Oxford Dante*) in *Modern Language Review* (vol. x, pp. 65–72). 14. E. Pistelli (1915): (revised text, with notes) in *Piccola Antologia della Bibbia Volgata . . . con alcune Epistole di Dante . . .* (Firenze, 1915; pp. 210–19). 15. [Della Torre] (1917): *Epist.* xi (*op. cit.*, pp. 263–70).

TRANSLATIONS.[1]—*Italian.* 1. Anon. (Cent. xiv): printed by Paget Toynbee (1914) from *Cod. S. Pantaleo 8*,[2] in *Modern Language Review* (vol. ix, pp. 335–43). 2. Anon. (Cent. xiv[3]): printed by Doni (1547), in *Prose antiche di Dante, Petrarcha, et Boccaccio* (Fiorenza, 1547; pp. 9–12); and again (1551–2), in *La Zucca del Doni* (Vinegia, 1551–2; 'I Frutti', pp. 69–73); by Biscioni (1723), in *Prose di Dante Alighieri e di Messer Gio.*

[1] For titles of editions referred to here as already quoted, see above, pp. 2, 43–4.

[2] On the relations between this translation and the S. Pantaleo Latin text, see *Appendix* E.

[3] This translation, which was formerly attributed to Marsilio Ficino, has been preserved in at least ten MSS., two probably of the fourteenth century, the rest of the fifteenth (see P. Wagner, *Die Echtheit der drei Kaiserbriefe Dantes*, pp. 10–11). Parodi holds (*Bull. Soc. Dant. Ital.*, N.S. xxii. 138) that this translation is a later *rifacimento* of that contained in the S. Pantaleo MS.; but see *Mod. Lang. Rev.* ix. 332 ff.; also Wagner, *op. cit.*, p. 11, n. 43.

Boccacci (Firenze, 1723; pp. 211–15); by Moutier (1823), from *Cod. Riccardiano 1050* and *2545*, in *Cronica di Giovanni Villani* (Firenze, 1823; vol. viii, pp. lxv–lxxi); by Witte (1827), in *Dantis Alligherii Epistolae quae exstant* (Patavii, 1827; pp. 31–47).[1] 3. Balbo (1839): (extracts) *op. cit.*, pp. 333–5. 4. Fraticelli (1840): *op. cit.*, pp. 231–49. 5. Torri (1842): *op. cit.*, pp. 53–61. 6. Fraticelli (1857): (revised trans.) *op. cit.*, pp. 489–99. 7. Passerini (1910): *op. cit.*, pp. 63–79. 8. Scherillo (1918): (extracts) *op. cit.*, vol. i, pp. 169–71.—*German.* 1. Kannegiesser (1845): *op. cit.*, pp. 187–93. 2. Scartazzini (1879): (extracts) in *Dante Alighieri, seine Zeit, sein Leben und seine Werke* (pp. 395–7). 3. Wegele (1897): (extracts) in *Dante Alighieri's Leben und Werke* (pp. 238–40). 4. Kraus (1897): (extracts) in *Dante, sein Leben und sein Werk* (pp. 302–4).—*English.* 1. Bunbury (1852): (extracts) in *Life and Times of Dante Alighieri* (vol. ii, pp. 141–5). 2. G. W. Greene (1867): in Longfellow's translation of the *Divina Commedia* (ed. 1867, vol. ii, p. 455). 3. Latham (1891): *op. cit.*, pp. 150–9. 4. Wicksteed (1898): in *A Provisional Translation of Dante's Political Letters* (pp. 16–21). 5. Wicksteed (1904): (revised trans.) in *Translation of the Latin Works of Dante Alighieri* (pp. 323–30). 6. Paget Toynbee: (*see below*, pp. 100–5).

AUTHENTICITY.—As in the case of the two previous letters, there can be no question as to the authenticity of this letter,[2] which is one of the three specially mentioned by Villani in the biographical notice of Dante in his *Cronica*: 'Quando fu in esilio . . . in tra l'altre fece tre nobili pistole; l'una mandò al reggimento di Firenze dogliendosi del suo esilio sanza colpa[3]; l'altra mandò allo 'mperadore Arrigo quand' era all' assedio di Brescia,[4]

[1] For a list of the editions of the *Divina Commedia* in which this translation is reprinted, see Koch, *Catalogue of the Cornell Dante Collection*, vol. i, p. 75.

[2] See above, p. 44.

[3] This letter has not been preserved.

[4] This is a mistake; Henry did not lay siege to Brescia until May 19, more than a month after the date of the letter, which was

riprendendolo della sua stanza, quasi profetizzando[1]; la terza a' cardinali italiani,[2] quand' era la vacazione dopo la morte di papa Clemente, acciocchè s'accordassono a eleggere papa italiano; tutte in latino con alto dittato, e con eccellenti sentenzie e autoritadi, le quali furono molto commendate da' savi intenditori' (ix. 136).[3]

DATE.—This, like the previous letter, is one of three among the letters attributed to Dante which is specifically dated, the colophon giving the date as April 17, 1311.[4]

SUMMARY.—§ 1. The legacy of peace was left to mankind by Christ, but the envy of the devil has brought strife upon the world. In Italy those who have long mourned in exile look to the advent of the Emperor to restore peace. § 2. But their eager hopes are dashed by doubts as to whether he is actually coming—nevertheless their belief in him as their appointed saviour is unshaken. § 3. Let the Emperor not consider Tuscany outside his sphere of action; let him remember that the Imperial power is not circumscribed save by the waters of Ocean; and let him think on the divine origin of the Roman Empire. § 4. Let him put an end, then, to delay, which only encourages his enemies, and let him call to mind the exhortations of Curio to Caesar, and of Mercury to Aeneas. § 5. Let him not forget the interests of his son, that second Ascanius; and let him beware lest he incur the reproach of Samuel against Saul. § 6. Like Hercules in his combat with the hydra, he is making the mistake of attacking the separate heads, by attempting to chastise Milan, Cremona, and the rest, instead of striking at once at the seat of life. A tree is not destroyed by lopping off branches; it is the root which must be extirpated. § 7. The real seat of mischief is not on Po, nor on Tiber, but on Arno; it is Florence, who in resisting Rome is striving to rend her own mother; Florence it is that is the centre of corruption. But

written two days before the Emperor left Milan in order to reduce Cremona (see *Chronological Table*).

[1] The present letter. [2] *Epist.* viii.

[3] In the early editions of Villani this chapter is numbered 135.

[4] See above, p. 65.

let her take heed lest the fate of Amata overtake her. § 8. Let the Emperor, then, arise in his strength, like a second David, and smite Goliath, and so bring confusion upon the Philistines, whereby peace and joy shall be restored, and the miseries of exile shall become but a memory.

Gloriosissimo atque[a] *felicissimo*[b] *Triumphatori*[1] *et Domino singulari,*[2] *Domino Henrico, divina providentia Romanorum Regi*[c] [3] *et*[d] *semper Augusto,*[4] *devotissimi sui Dantes Alagherii,*[e] *Florentinus et exul immeritus,*[5] *ac universaliter omnes Tusci qui pacem desiderant, terrae*[f] *osculum ante pedes.*[g] [6]

P.[1] = *Cod. S. Pantaleo* 8 (*Lat. text*) P.[2] = *Cod. S. Pantaleo* 8 (*Ital. trans.*) V. = *Cod. Vat.-Palat. Lat.* 1729 M. = *Cod. Marciano Lat.* xiv. 115 O. = *Oxford Dante* (O.[1] = *ed.* 1894; O.[2] = *ed.* 1897; O.[3] = *ed.* 1904)

[a] M.O. omit *Gloriosissimo atque*; V. omits the whole title [b] M.O. *Sanctissimo* [c] M. *rege* [d] M.O. omit *et* [e] M. *Aldigherrj*; O. *Alighierius* [f] O. *pacem desiderant terrae,* [g] O. *osculantur pedes*

[1] Cf. 'sub triumphis et gloria Henrici', in the first Battifolle letter (*Epist.* vii*) *ad fin.*

[2] Cf. 'princeps singularis', of the Emperor, in the second Battifolle letter (*Epist.* vii**); and 'praeses unicus mundi' in this same letter (l. 125).

[3] Henry was not yet technically 'Imperator', not having been crowned at Rome—a ceremony which did not take place until June 29, 1312.

[4] 'Semper Augustus' was part of the Emperor's formal title (cf. Bryce, *Holy Roman Empire*, ed. 1904, p. 531: 'From the eleventh century till the sixteenth, the invariable practice was for the monarch to be called *Romanorum rex semper Augustus* till his coronation at Rome by the Pope; after it, *Romanorum Imperator semper Augustus*'); cf. 'semper Augusta', of the Empress, in the titles of the three Battifolle letters.

[5] See note on *Epist.* ii. 24.

[6] In the *textus receptus*, which runs 'ac universaliter omnes Tusci

§ 1. Immensa Dei dilectione testante, relicta nobis est[a] pacis hereditas,[1] ut in sua mira dulcedine militiae[2] nostrae dura mitescerent, et in usu eius patriae triumphantis[b3] gaudia mereremur. At livor antiqui et implacabilis hostis,[4] humanae prosperitati semper et latenter[c] insidians,

[a] V. *est nobis* [b] M. *triumphis* [c] V. *latanter*; M. *conlatenter*

qui pacem desiderant terrae, osculantur pedes', and in the translations based upon it, *terrae* is construed with *pacem desiderant*: 'all the Tuscans everywhere who desire peace upon earth, offer a kiss at his feet'. The correct punctuation, however, is that adopted in the text, the formula being 'terrae osculum ante pedes'; as appears from the titles of two letters, addressed respectively by the cities of Lucca and of Siena to King Robert of Naples, printed by Dönniges in *Acta Henrici VII. Imperatoris Romanorum* (Pars ii, pp. 233–4). The title of the first, which is dated Oct. 13, 1312, runs: 'Serenissimo principi dno. Roberto, dei gratia etc. . . . populus et commune Civitatis Lucane, terre obsculum ante pedes'. That of the second, which is undated, runs: 'Serenissimo principi dno. Roberto, dei gratia etc. . . . Capitanei partis Guelforum Civitatis Senarum, terre obsculum ante pedes'. This punctuation is confirmed by the S. Pantaleo Latin text, in which a stroke (representing a comma) is inserted after *desiderant*; as well as by the two Cent. xiv Italian translations, one of which renders: 'Tutti i Toscani universalmente, che pace desiderano, mandano baci alla terra dinanzi a vostri piedi'; and the other (S. Pantaleo): 'Vniuersalmente tucti I toscanj che pace desiderano / ala terra denanci ai pedi / basci mandano'. (See my note on *A Mispunctuation in the title of Dante's Letter to the Emperor Henry VII*, in *Bulletin Italien*, xviii. 111–18.)

[1] *John* xiv. 27; cf. *Conv.* ii. 15, ll. 171–2; in view of these references, *testor* here may perhaps be taken, not in the more usual sense of bearing witness, but in that of making a bequest—'by the bequest of the boundless love'.

[2] The life of this world; cf. *Job* vii. 1: 'militia est vita hominis super terram' (a passage to which a different sense is given in A.V.).

[3] As members of the Church triumphant, as opposed to the Church militant; cf. *Par.* xxx. 98: 'l' alto trionfo del regno verace'.

[4] The devil; cf. 1 *Pet.* v. 8: 'adversarius vester diabolus', whence

nonnullos exheredando volentes ob tutoris[1] absentiam nos[a] alios impie[b] denudavit[c] invitos. Hinc diu super[d] flumina confusionis[2] deflevimus, et patrocinia iusti regis[3] incessanter[e] implorabamus[f], qui[g] satellitium saevi tyranni[4] disperderet, et nos in nostra iustitia reformaret. Quumque tu, Caesaris et Augusti successor, Apennini iuga transiliens, veneranda signa Tarpeïa[h 5] retulisti, protinus longa substiterunt suspiria, lacrymarumque diluvia[i] desierunt; et, ceu Titan praeoptatus[j] exoriens,[6] nova spes Latio saeculi melioris effulsit. Tunc

[a] V. *non* [b] V. *impios*; O. *impius*; P.[2] *crudelmente* [c] P.[1] *denudare* [d] M. *semper* [e] V. *incensanter* [f] M. *imploravimus* [g] M. *et qui* [h] M. *turpia* [i] M. *diluuie* [j] M. *precipitatus*; O. *peroptatus*; P.[2] *innançi desiato*

the use of the term 'adversary' in English (as in *Par. Lost*, ii. 629), and 'aversier' in Old French, for the devil (cf. *Purg.* viii. 95); also *Mon.* ii. 10, ll. 77–8: 'ille antiquus hostis, qui litigii fuerat persuasor'. For the envy of the devil, cf. *Wisdom* ii. 24: 'Invidia diaboli mors introivit in orbem terrarum'.

[1] The Emperor; cf. 'tutori', of the Kings of Rome, *Conv.* iv. 5, l. 92.

[2] Dante, adopting the interpretation of 'Babylon' as 'confusion' (like that of 'Babel'; cf. *V. E.* i. 6, l. 52; 7, l. 30), thus renders 'super flumina Babylonis' of *Psalm* cxxxvi. 1; cf. l. 189, below.

[3] Cf. *Prov.* xxix. 4: 'Rex iustus erigit terram'.

[4] Cf. l. 77: 'Tuscana tyrannis', meaning especially the rebellious Guelfs of Florence. Dino Compagni refers to the Guelfs in similar language; speaking of the advent of the Emperor into Italy he says: 'Iddio onnipotente, il quale è guardia e guida de' principi, volle la sua venuta fusse per abattere e gastigare i tiranni che erano per Lombardia e per Toscana, fino a tanto che ogni tirannia fusse spenta' (iii. 24).

[5] Roman (cf. *Purg.* ix. 137; *Mon.* ii. 4, l. 53), hence Imperial, standard, the eagle; cf. *Epist.* vi. 81; and *Par.* xix. 101–2: 'il segno Che fe' i Romani al mondo reverendi'.

[6] The advent of the Emperor is likened to the rising of the sun, as in *Epist.* v. 10: 'Titan exorietur pacificus'.

plerique vota sua praevenientes in iubilo, tam Saturnia regna quam Virginem redeuntem [1] cum Marone [2] cantabant.

§ 2. Verum quia sol noster (sive desiderii fervor hoc submoneat,[a] sive facies veritatis) aut morari iam creditur, aut retrocedere supputatur, quasi Iosue [3] denuo, vel Amos filius [4] imperaret, incertitudine [b] dubitare compellimur, et in vocem Praecursoris [5] irrumpere, sic 'Tu es qui venturus es, an alium expectamus?' [6] Et quamvis longa sitis in dubium quae sunt certa propter esse propinqua, ut adsolet, furibunda deflectat; nihilominus in te credimus et speramus, asseverantes te Dei [c] ministrum, et Ecclesiae filium, et Romanae gloriae promotorem. Nam et egò, qui scribo tam pro me quam pro aliis, velut [d] decet imperatoriam maiestatem, benignissimum vidi et clementissimum te audivi, quum pedes tuos manus meae tractarunt, et labia mea debitum persolverunt.[7] Tunc [e] exultavit in me [f] spiritus meus,[8] quum [g] tacitus dixi

[a] M. *submoueat*; P.[2] *ammonisca* [b] V. *in certitudine*; P.[2] *ne la certecça* [c] V. omits *Dei* [d] M. *uel* [e] P.[1]M. *cum*; P.[2] *quando* [f] O. *te* [g] O. *et*; P.[2] *quando*

[1] Virgil, *Ecl.* iv. 6; cf. *Mon.* i. 11, ll. 3–10; *Purg.* xxii. 70–2.

[2] This, the only instance of the use of the name Maro for Virgil by Dante, may doubtless be accounted for by the requirements of the *cursus*—'(cum Mar)óne cantábant' (*planus*).

[3] *Josh.* x. 12–13.

[4] That is, Isaiah (2 *Kings* xx. 1); the reference is to 2 *Kings* xx. 11.

[5] John the Baptist; cf. *V. N.* § 24, ll. 36–7: 'quel Giovanni, lo quale precedette la verace luce'.

[6] *Matt.* xi. 3; *Luke* vii. 19.

[7] Dante probably paid homage to the Emperor on the occasion of his coronation with the iron crown at Milan on Jan. 6, 1311.

[8] *Luke* i. 47.

mecum: 'Ecce Agnus Dei, ecce qui tollit[a] peccata mundi!'[1]

§ 3. Sed quid tam sera moretur segnities[2] admiramur; quando[b] iamdudum in valle victor Eridani,[3] non secus Tusciam derelinquis, praetermittis et negligis, quam si iura[c] tutanda[d] imperii circumscribi Ligurum[e] finibus arbitreris; non prorsus (ut suspicamur) advertens[f], quoniam Romanorum gloriosa[g] potestas nec metis Italiae, nec tricornis[h] Europae[4] margine coarctatur. Nam etsi vim passa[5] in[i] angustum[j] gubernacula sua contraxerit[k], undique[l] tamen de inviolabili iure fluctus

[a] P.[1] *tollis*; O. *abstulit*; P.[2] *tolle* [b] O. *quoniam* [c] P.[1] *vita* [d] M. *tuendi* [e] P.[1] *ligineranj*; P.[2] *Lombardia* [f] P. *aduerteris* [g] O. omits *gloriosa* [h] M. *iricornis* [i] V. *non* [j] P.[1]V.M. *Augustum*; P.[2] *strectecça* [k] M. *contraxit* [l] O. *contraxerit undique*,

[1] *John* i. 29; cf. *Par.* xvii. 33.

[2] *Aen.* ii. 373–4.

[3] The Emperor had reached Turin on Oct. 30, 1310; after holding court at Asti from Nov. 10 to Dec. 12, he advanced to Milan—'venne giù, discendendo di terra in terra, mettendo pace come fusse uno agnolo di Dio, ricevendo la fedeltà fino presso a Milano', says Dino Compagni (iii. 24); he entered the city on Dec. 23, where, says Dino, 'la sua vita non era nè in sonare, nè in uccellare, nè in sollazzi, ma in continui consigli, e a pacificare i discordanti e assettare i vicari per le terre' (iii. 26).

[4] The old geographers represented Europe as a rough triangle, of which the apex was formed by the bend of the Tanais (Don), and the other two angles by the Columns of Hercules and the British Isles. Dante's immediate authority was probably Albertus Magnus, who in his *De Natura Locorum* (iii. 7) says: 'Europa . . . habet figuram trigoni circumfusam mari oceano, quantum ad nostram habitabilem. Trigonus autem ex arcubus et non lineis rectis componitur, licet acies angulorum non cadant omnino in acumen' (see my article *Some Unacknowledged Obligations of Dante to Albertus Magnus*, in *Romania*, xxiv. 411–12; and Moore, *Studies in Dante*, iii. 125–6).

[5] A reminiscence of *Matt.* xi. 12: 'regnum coelorum vim patitur'.

Amphitritis [1] attingens [a], vix ab inutili [2] unda Oceani se circumcingi [3] dignatur. Scriptum etenim nobis est [b]:

> 'Nascetur pulcra Troianus origine Caesar,
> Imperium [c] Oceano, famam qui terminet astris.' [4]

Et quum universaliter orbem describi edixisset Augustus (ut bos noster evangelizans,[5] accensus ignis aeterni [d] flamma, remugit [e]), [6] si non de iustissimi principatus [7] aula prodiisset [f] edictum, Unigenitus Dei Filius,[8] homo factus [g] ad profitendum [h] [9] secundum naturam assumptam edicto [i] se subditum, nequaquam [j] tunc nasci de Virgine

[a] V. *attigens* [b] V. *etenim uobis est*; M. *est enim nobis* [c] P.[1] *Imperij* [d] M. omits *aeterni* [e] P.[1] *remigit* [f] P.[1] *prodisset* [g] M. *factus qui* [h] M. *proficendum* [i] M. *edicit* [j] O. *nunquam*; P.[2] *non*

[1] In the *Quaestio* (§ 15, l. 6). Dante uses this term to distinguish the circumambient ocean from inland seas ('maria mediterranea'), doubtless in accordance with the mediaeval etymology, as given by Évrard de Béthune in the *Graecismus*: 'quia terram circuit omnem'; and by Giovanni da Genova in the *Catholicon*: 'ab *amphi* quod est *circum*, et *tero*, *teris*, dicitur hic *amphitrites*, *-tis*, idest mare, a circumterendo litus sic dictus'.

[2] 'Ineffectual'; the implication apparently being, as Pistelli notes, that the ocean would be powerless to check the expansion of the limits of the Empire.

[3] Cf. *Mon.* i. 11, ll. 83–4: 'Monarchae iurisdictio terminatur Oceano solum'; and *Epist.* viii. 182–4: 'palaestra . . . undique ab Oceani margine circumspecta'.

[4] *Aen.* i. 286–7.

[5] St. Luke, who is symbolized by an ox according to the accepted interpretation of *Ezek.* i. 10; *Rev.* iv. 7.

[6] *Luke* ii. 1.

[7] Cf. *Purg.* x. 74: 'il Roman principato'; *Epist.* vii*: 'Romanus Principatus'; *Epist.* x *tit.*: 'Caesareus Principatus'; and see Moore, *Studies in Dante*, iv. 274.

[8] *John* iii. 16, 18.

[9] *Luke* ii. 3, 5.

voluisset.[1] Non enim suasisset iniustum,[a 2] quem omnem iustitiam implere decebat.[b 3]

§ 4. Pudeat itaque in angustissima [c] mundi area irretiri [d] tam diu,[e] quem mundus omnis expectat; et ab Augusti [f] circumspectione non defluat,[4] quod Tuscana tyrannis [5] in dilationis fiducia confortatur, et [g] quotidie malignantium [6] cohortando [h] superbiam, vires novas accumulat, temeritatem temeritati adiciens. Intonet iterum [i] vox [j] illa Curionis [7] in Caesarem:

'Dum trepidant nullo firmatae [k] robore partes,
Tolle moras; semper nocuit [l] differre paratis [8]:
Par labor atque metus [m] pretio maiore petuntur.' [9]

[a] P.[1] *in iustum* [b] M. *qui omnem iustitiam implere debebat*; P.[2] *al quale si conuenea adempiere ogni giustizia* [c] M. *angusta*; P.[2] *strettissima* [d] M. *metiri* [e] O. *tamdiu* [f] M. *Augusta* [g] M. *ut* [h] P.[1] *coartando*; M. *cohartando*; P.[2] *confortando* [i] M. *igitur*; P.[2] *un' altra uolta* [j] M. *uos* [k] M. *firmari* [l] M. *nocuit semper* [m] M. *mętas*

[1] This argument, which is also used in the *De Monarchia* (ii. 12, ll. 41–7), was borrowed by Dante from Orosius (vi. 22, §§ 6, 7). (See my *Dante Studies and Researches*, pp. 133–4.)

[2] Cf. *Mon.* ii. 12, ll. 41–71. [3] *Matt.* iii. 15.

[4] Cf. the similar phrase in *Epist.* iii (iv). 55–6: 'de memoria tua non defluat'. [5] See note on l. 13.

[6] A word of frequent occurrence in the Vulgate version of the Psalms (e.g. xxi. 17; xxv. 5; xxxvi. 1; lxiii. 3; xci. 12; xciii. 16).

[7] Caius Scribonius Curio, tribune of the plebs, 50 B.C.; according to Lucan (*Phars.* i. 269 ff.), whose account Dante follows here and in *Inf.* xxviii. 97–102 (where Curio figures in Bolgia 9 of Circle viii of Hell among the sowers of discord), it was he who urged Caesar to advance on Rome after crossing the Rubicon.

[8] Cf. *Inf.* xxviii. 98–9: 'il fornito Sempre con danno l' attender sofferse'.

[9] Lucan, *Phars.* i. 280–2. The precise meaning of the last line is disputed; but Dante probably understood it to signify, and intended to convey by including it in the quotation, that delay would only involve greater toil and risk.

Intonet illa vox increpitantis Anubis[a 1] iterum[b] in Aeneam :

'Si te nulla movet tantarum gloria rerum,
Nec super ipse tua moliris[c] laude laborem ;
Ascanium surgentem et spes heredis Iuli
Respice ; cui regnum[d] Italiae Romanaque tellus[e]
Debentur.'[2]

§ 5. Iohannes namque, regius primogenitus tuus et rex,[3] quem, post diei orientis occasum, mundi successiva posteritas[f] praestolatur[g 4], nobis est alter Ascanius, qui

[a] P.[1] O. *a nubibus* ; V. *a nubis* ; M. *Annubis* ; P.[2] *del cielo* [b] M. omits *iterum* [c] V. *molitis* [d] V. *regimen* [e] V.M. *regna* ; P.[2] *i regni* [f] M. *prosteritas* [g] M. *prestoletur*

[1] Egyptian god identified by the Romans with Mercury, who is the personage quoted as addressing Aeneas in the text. This identification was currently known and accepted in the Middle Ages. Dante's authority was probably either Servius on *Aen.* viii. 698: '*Latrator Anubis*, quia capite canino pingitur; hunc volunt esse *Mercurium*, ideo quia nihil est cane sagacius'; or Uguccione da Pisa, who in his *Magnae Derivationes* (a work well known to Dante) says: '*Anubis*. Nubes componitur cum *a*, quod est *sine* ; et dicitur *hic anubis*, id est *mercurius*, quasi *sine nube* ; est enim deus sermonis quia omnia revelat'. There can be no doubt as to the correctness of the reading *Anubis* as against the *a nubibus* of P.[1] and O. (See my article '*Anubis*' or '*a nubibus*' *in Dante's letter to Henry VII*, in *Bulletin Italien*, xii. 1–5.)

[2] *Aen.* iv. 272–6.

[3] John of Luxemburg (born 1295), at this time in his sixteenth year, was King of Bohemia (1310) in right of his marriage with Elizabeth, daughter of Wenceslas IV (Vill. ix. 1). He had been crowned at Prague in the previous February. Having lost both his eyes he was subsequently known as the 'Blind King of Bohemia'. He was killed at the battle of Crécy in 1346. According to the (unauthenticated) tradition, the badge of three ostrich feathers, with the motto *Ich dien*, borne by the Prince of Wales, originally belonged to King John, and was assumed by the Black Prince after the king's death at Crécy.

[4] He never succeeded to the Empire.

vestigia [a] magni genitoris observans, in Turnos [1] ubique sicut leo desaeviet, et in Latinos [b] velut agnus [c] mitescet. Praecaveant sacratissimi regis alta consilia, ne coeleste iudicium Samuelis illa verba reasperet: 'Nonne quum parvulus esses [d] in oculis tuis, caput in tribubus [e] Israel factus es? Unxitque te [f] Dominus [g] in regem super Israel [h]; et misit te Dominus [i] in viam [j], et ait: Vade et interfice peccatores Amalech?' [2] Nam et tu in regem sacratus es, ut Amalech percutias [k] et [l] Agag non parcas [m]; atque ulciscaris illum qui misit te, de gente [n] brutali et de festina sua sollemnitate (quae quidem et Amalech et Agag sonare dicuntur).[3]

§ 6. Tu Mediolani tam vernando quam hiemando moraris [4] et hydram pestiferam per capitum amputationem reris [o] extinguere? Quod [p] si magnalia [5] gloriosi [q] Alcidae recensuisses, te ut illum falli cognosceres [r], cui

[a] P.[1] *uestigiam* [b] M. *latino* [c] M. *agnos* [d] V. *esset* [e] M. *tribus* [f] M. omits *te* [g] M. *deus* [h] P.[1]M.P.[2] omit *super Israel* [i] V.M.O. *Deus*; P.[2] omits [j] V.O. *via* [k] V. *percuciens* [l] V. *ut* [m] M. *parcas minime*; P.[2] *non perdonare* [n] M. *de gente in gentem* [o] P.[1] *veris* [p] V. *quia* [q] M. *gloriose* [r] M. *cognosceris*

[1] That is, the Rutulians, whose king Turnus fought against Aeneas, and who thus typify the opponents of the Empire, while the followers of Latinus, the father-in-law of Aeneas, typify its supporters.

[2] 1 *Sam.* xv. 17–18.

[3] Dante doubtless derived these interpretations from the *Explanatio Nominum* which accompanies many MSS. of the Vulgate, in which 'Amalech' is explained as 'gens brutalis', and 'Agag' as 'festina solempnitas'.

[4] The Emperor had been in Milan since the previous Dec. 23; he left two days after the date of this letter (see *Chronological Table*).

[5] Cf. *V. E.* ii. 2, l. 73; *Epist.* x. 13; the word occurs frequently in the Vulgate (e. g. 2 *Sam.* vii. 21, 23; 2 *Kings* viii. 4; *Psalm* lxx. 19; cv. 21).

pestilens animal, capite repullulante[a] multiplici, per[b]
damnum crescebat,[1] donec instanter magnanimus[c] vitae
principium impetivit.[d][2] Non etenim[e] ad arbores extir- 95
pandas valet ipsa ramorum[f] incisio, quin iterum multi-
plicius virulente[g] ramificent[h], quousque radices incolumes
fuerint, ut praebeant alimentum. Quid[i], praeses[j] unice
mundi,[3] peregisse praeconicis[k], quum cervicem Cremonae[4]
deflexeris contumacis? Nonne tunc[l] vel[m] Brixiae[5] vel 100
Papiae[6] rabies inopina turgescet?[7] Immo! Quae
quum etiam flagellata[n] resederit,[7] mox alia Vercellis,[8]
vel Pergami,[9] vel alibi returgebit, donec huiusmodi[o]

[a] M. *repupulare* [b] O. *in*; P.[2] *per* [c] M. *magnanimis* [d] O. *impedivit*; P.[2] *tagliò* [e] M. *enim* [f] M. *Romanorum* [g] V.O. *virulenter*; M. *uia terre*; P.[2] *uergeando* [h] M. *ramescent* [i] M. *qui* [j] M. *prees* [k] P.[1] *preconijcis*; V. *preconiis*; O. *praeconizabis*; P.[2] *anuntiarae* [l] M. *nonne ut tuo* [m] M. *vel tu* [n] M. *flagellum* [o] V.O. *huius*

[1] Ovid, *Metam.* ix. 70–4. For every head of the hydra cut off, two new ones sprang up.

[2] By applying fire to the root of the neck whence the heads sprang.

[3] See note on the title of this letter (p. 87, n. 2).

[4] Cremona, incited by Florence, had rebelled against the Emperor in the previous February. Henry marched against the rebellious city, entered it, and imprisoned the rebels in the following May.

[5] Brescia followed the example of Cremona in March; after a long siege (May 19 to Sept. 19) it surrendered to the Emperor, who entered the city and razed the fortifications.

[6] The Emperor left Brescia on Oct. 2, and proceeded to Pavia, which he pacified on his way to Genoa (Dino Compagni, iii. 30), where he arrived on Oct. 21.

[7] Giuliani suggests that this metaphor is borrowed from Virgil, *Georg.* ii. 479–80; he compares *Inf.* xxi. 21.

[8] Vercelli, about 40 miles SW. of Milan, at the W. extremity of the old Lombardy, which Dante describes as 'lo dolce piano Che da Vercelli a Marcabò dichina' (*Inf.* xxviii. 74–5).

[9] Bergamo, about 30 miles NE. of Milan.

scatescentiae causa radicalis [a] tollatur, et [b] radice [c] tanti erroris avulsa [d], cum trunco rami pungitivi [e] arescant.

§ 7. An ignoras, excellentissime [f] principum [g], nec de specula [h] summae celsitudinis [1] deprehendis, ubi vulpecula foetoris istius, venantium secura, recumbat [i]? Quippe nec Pado praecipiti,[2] nec Tiberi tuo criminosa potatur [j], verum Sarni[3] fluenta torrentis adhuc rictus [k] eius inficiunt, et Florentia [l] (forte nescis?) dira haec pernicies nuncupatur. Haec est vipera versa in viscera genitricis; haec [m] languida pecus, quae [n] gregem domini sui sua contagione commaculat [o]; haec Myrrha scelestis [p] et impia, in Cinyrae patris [q] amplexus exaestuans [4]; haec Amata illa impatiens, quae, repulso fatali connubio, quem fata [r] negabant generum sibi adscire non timuit, sed in bella furialiter provocavit,[s] et demum, male ausa [5] luendo,

[a] M. *rabies*; P.[2] *radicevole* [b] M. omits *et* [c] P.[1] *radix* [d] P.[1] *evulsa* [e] M. *pugitiui* [f] M. *excellentiue* [g] M. *principium* [h] M. *speculo* [i] V.O. *decumbat*; P.[2] *serraguacta* [j] M. *potant* [k] P.[1] *ritus*; P.[2] *custumi* [l] M. *Florentiam* [m] V.O. *haec est* [n] V.O. omit *quae* [o] V.O. *commaculans* [p] O. *scelesta* [q] P.[1] *in amore patris*; V. *in Cinare patris*; M. *in Cinere posita*; P.[2] *nello amore del padre* [r] M. *semper* [s] P.[1]M. *furialiter in bella vocavit*

[1] Dante is here probably playing upon the use of the term 'Celsitudo' as a title of respect; cf. 'regia Celsitudo' applied to the Empress in the second and third Battifolle letters (*Epist.* vii**, vii***); and see the other instances quoted on p. 114, n. 2.

[2] Cf. Virgil, *Georg.* iv. 372–3.

[3] See note on *Epist.* iv (iii). 13.

[4] Myrrha, daughter of Cinyras, King of Cyprus, being seized with a fatal passion for her father, contrived to introduce herself into his chamber in disguise during the absence of her mother (hence Dante places her among the Falsifiers in Bolgia 10 of Circle viii of Hell, *Inf.* xxx. 25–41). Dante got her story from Ovid, *Metam.* x. 293 ff., whose expression 'patriisque in vultibus haerens Aestuat' (vv. 359–60) he here echoes.

[5] Cf. *Epist.* vi. 56.

laqueo se suspendit.[1] Vere matrem viperea feritate
155 dilaniare contendit,[a] dum contra Romam cornua rebel- 120
lionis exacuit,[2] quae ad imaginem suam atque similitudinem fecit illam.[3] Vere fumos[b], evaporante[c] sanie,

[a] M. omits *luendo—contendit* [b] M. *fumo* [c] M. *euaporantes*

[1] Amata, wife of Latinus, King of Latium, and mother of Lavinia, hanged herself rather than live to see her daughter wedded to Aeneas instead of to Turnus, King of the Rutulians, the son-in-law she desired ('quem fata negabant generum'), to whom Lavinia had been promised by Latinus (*Aen.* xii. 593–607). Turnus, who to enforce his claim made war upon Aeneas, is probably meant here, as the opponent of Aeneas, the representative of the Empire, to typify King Robert of Naples, the head of the Guelfs who were opposing the Emperor. The phrase 'laqueo se suspendit' is, as Pistelli points out, a reminiscence of the Vulgate account of the suicide of Judas (*Matt.* xxvii. 5). Amata figures among the examples of wrath in Circle iii of Purgatory (*Purg.* xvii. 34–9).

[2] There can hardly be a doubt that in using this phrase Dante had in mind the reply of the Florentines to the Emperor's ambassador in the previous year, which is recorded by Dino Compagni: 'M. Luigi di Savoia, mandato imbasciadore in Toscana dallo Imperadore, venne a Firenze; e fu poco onorato da' nobili cittadini, e feciono il contrario di quello doveano. Domandò, che imbasciadore si mandassi a onorarlo e ubidirli come a loro signore: fu loro risposto per parte della Signoria da m. Betto Brunelleschi, *che mai per niuno signore i Fiorentini inchinarono le corna*' (iii. 35). That Dante was acquainted with the terms of this insolent reply we know from Flavio Biondo, who in his *Historiarum ab inclinato Romano Imperio Decades* mentions that he had seen the copy of a letter written by Dante from Forlì at the time to Can Grande della Scala, in which he gave an account of the incident (see *Introduction*).

[3] *Gen.* i. 26. Florence, according to tradition, was founded by the Romans (Villani, i. 38); and after its (legendary) destruction by Totila was rebuilt by the Romans on the model of Rome (Vill. iii. 2: 'La città nuova di Firenze si cominciò a redificare per gli Romani ... di piccolo sito e giro, figurandola al modo di Roma, secondo la piccola impresa'). Cf. *Conv.* i. 3, ll. 21–2: 'la bellissima e famosissima figlia di Roma, Fiorenza'; and *Inf.* xv. 76–8.

vitiantes exhalat, et inde vicinae [a] pecudes et insciae [b] contabescunt, dum, falsis illiciendo [c] blanditiis et figmentis [d], aggregat sibi finitimos, et infatuat [e] aggregatos. Vere in paternos ardet [f] ipsa concubitus, dum improba procacitate [g] conatur summi pontificis,[h 1] qui pater est patrum, adversum [i] te violare assensum [j]. Vere Dei ordinationi resistit,[k 2] propriae voluntatis [l] idolum venerando [m], dum, regem [n] aspernata legitimum, non erubescit insana [o] regi non suo [3] iura non sua pro male agendi [p] potestate pacisci. Sed attendat [q] ad laqueum [4] mulier furiata quo se innectit [r]. Nam saepe quis in reprobum sensum traditur, ut traditus faciat ea quae non [s] conveniunt.[5] Quae quamvis iniusta [t] sint opera, iusta tamen supplicia esse noscuntur.[6]

§ 8. Eia itaque, rumpe moras,[7] proles altera [u] Isai,[8]

[a] M. *uicinię* [b] M. *uiscie*; P.[2] *non sapeuoli* [c] M. *aliciendo*; O. *alliciendo* [d] V. *figimentis* [e] P.[1] *infatuant*; M. *insinuat*; P.[2] *fa impaçire* [f] M. omits *ardet* [g] P.[1] *pro capacitate*; P.[2] *con maluagio uageiamento* [h] M. *summum pontificem* [i] O. *adversus* [j] M. *ascensum* [k] M. *restitit* [l] M. *uoluntati* [m] M. *uerenando* [n] P.[1] *regem suum* [o] O. *erubescit; insana* [p] V.O. *agenda*; M. *agende* [q] M. *accendit*; O. *attendit*; P.[2] *adrende* [r] O. *innectat*; P.[2] *si lega* [s] M. *etiam* [t] V. *iusta*; P.[2] *non iuste* [u] M.O.[1]O.[2] *alta*; P.[2] *secondo*

[1] Clement V, to whom Henry owed his election as Emperor, and by whom he was as yet supported.

[2] *Rom.* xiii. 2; cf. *Epist.* v. 64–5.

[3] King Robert of Naples, who was acting with Florence and the Guelfic league in opposition to the Emperor.

[4] Cf. *Epist.* viii. 60–1: 'attendatis ad funiculum, attendatis ad ignem'.

[5] *Rom.* i. 28.

[6] The suicide of Amata was an act without justification, save as a just judgement upon her.

[7] *Aen.* iv. 569.

[8] Cf. l. 96: 'alter Ascanius'; *Epist.* v. 19: 'alius Moyses'; *Epist.* vi. 50: 'alteri Babylonii'.

sume tibi fiduciam de oculis Domini Dei Sabaoth,[1] coram quo agis; et Goliam[2] hunc in funda sapientiae tuae [a] atque [b] in lapide [c] virium tuarum prosterne[3]; quoniam in eius occasu nox [d] et umbra timoris castra Philistinorum operiet; fugient Philistaei et liberabitur Israel. Tunc hereditas nostra,[4] quam sine intermissione deflemus ablatam,[5] nobis erit in integrum restituta. At [e] quemadmodum [f] sacrosanctae Ierusalem memores, exules in Babylone, gemiscimus[6]; ita tunc cives, et respirantes in pace, confusionis[7] miserias [g] in gaudio recolemus [h].

Scriptum in Tuscia sub fonte [i] Sarni[8] xv[j] Kalendas [k] Maias, divi Henrici faustissimi [l] cursus ad Italiam anno primo.[9]

TRANSLATION

To the most glorious and most fortunate Conqueror, and sole Lord, the Lord Henry, by Divine Providence King of the Romans, and ever Augustus, his most devoted servants, Dante Alighieri, a Florentine undeservedly in exile, and all the Tuscans everywhere who desire peace, offer a kiss on the ground before his feet.

§ 1. As the boundless love of God bears witness, the

[a] M. *sue* [b] P.[1] *at* [c] P.[1] *lapidem* [d] P.[1] *vox*; M. *nos* [e] O. *Ac*; P.[2] *Et* [f] M. *quidem ad modum* [g] M. *miserius* [h] M. *reuelemur*; P.[2] *releueremo* [i] O. *fontem*; V. omits the colophon [j] P.[1] *xv*[a]; M. *xv*[o]; O. *xiv*; P.[2] *a die xvi daprile* [k] O. *Kal.* [l] P.[1] *diuj faustissimj Herricj*

[1] *Jerem.* xi. 20; *Rom.* ix. 29 (cf. *Isaiah* i. 9, where the Vulgate renders 'Dominus exercituum').

[2] Typifying Florence, as the head of the Guelfic league; or, as some think, King Robert of Naples, the 'rex non suus' of l. 168, their ally and chief.

[3] 1 *Sam.* xvii. 49-50.

[4] The heritage of peace (cf. l. 2).

[5] Cf. *Lament.* v. 2.

[6] *Psalm* cxxxvi. 1 ff.

[7] Cf. l. 10, and note.

[8] See note on *Epist.* iv (iii). 13.

[9] Cf. the colophons of *Epist.* vi (where see note) and *Epist.* vii***.

heritage of peace was left to us, that in its wondrous sweetness the hardships of our warfare might be softened, and that by its practice we might earn the joys of the triumphant Fatherland. But the envy of the ancient and implacable enemy, who ever secretly plots against the prosperity of mankind, having dispossessed some of their own free will, has, owing to the absence of our guardian, impiously stripped us others against our will. Wherefore we have long wept by the waters of Confusion, and unceasingly prayed for the protection of the just king, who should destroy the satellites of the cruel tyrant, and should stablish us again under our own justice. But when thou, the successor of Caesar and of Augustus, o'erleaping the ridge of the Apennines, didst bring back the venerated Tarpeian standards, forthwith our deep sighing was stayed, and the flood of our tears was dried up; and like the rising of the long-awaited Sun, a new hope of a better age shone abroad upon Italy. Then many, going before their wishes in their joy, sang with Maro of the reign of Saturn, and of the return of the Virgin.

§ 2. But because our Sun (whether it be the fervour of our longing, or the appearance of truth which suggests it) is believed to be tarrying, or is suspected to be turning back, as though at the bidding once again of Joshua or of the son of Amoz, we are constrained in our uncertainty to doubt, and to break forth in the words of the Forerunner: 'Art thou he that should come? or look we for another?' And though prolonged desire, as is its wont, turns into doubt in its frenzy things which owing to their being close at hand seem to be certain, nevertheless we believe and hope in thee, declaring thee to be the minister of God, the son of the Church, and the furtherer of the glory of Rome. For I too, who write as well for myself as for others, beheld thee most gracious, and heard thee most clement, as beseems Imperial Majesty, when my hands touched thy feet, and my lips paid their tribute. Then my spirit rejoiced within me, when I said secretly within myself: 'Behold the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sins of the world'.

§ 3. But we marvel what sluggishness holds thee so

long, in that, long since victor in the valley of Po, thou dost abandon, pass by, and neglect Tuscany, not otherwise than as if thou didst suppose the imperial rights entrusted to thy guardianship to be limited by the boundaries of Liguria; forgetting in sooth, as we apprehend, that the glorious dominion of the Romans is confined neither by the frontiers of Italy, nor by the coast-line of three-cornered Europe. For although it has been constrained by violence to narrow the bounds of its government, yet by indefeasible right it everywhere stretches as far as the waves of Amphitrite, and scarce deigns to be circumscribed by the ineffectual waters of Ocean. For it is written for our behoof: 'From the fair line of Troy a Caesar shall be born, who shall bound his empire by the ocean, his glory by the stars'. And when Augustus decreed that all the world should be taxed[1] (as the lowing of our Evangelic Ox, aglow with the flame of the eternal fire, records), if the decree had not issued from the court of a most just prince, in vain would the only-begotten Son of God, made man, in order to the declaring[2] himself subject to the edict, in accordance with the nature he had assumed, have willed to be born of the Virgin at that time. For He, whom it behoved to fulfil all righteousness, would not have counselled an unrighteous act.

§ 4. Let him, then, for whom the whole world is looking, be ashamed to be entangled so long in such a narrow corner of the world; and let it not escape the consideration of Augustus that the tyrant of Tuscany is encouraged by the assurance that he is delaying, and daily by appealing to the pride of the evil-doers gathers fresh strength, heaping daring upon daring. Let the voice of Curio to Caesar be heard once again: 'While the factions are in confusion and without support, away with delay! delay was ever the bane of the ready—equal toil and fear are more dearly bought'. Once again let the voice of Mercury chiding Aeneas be heard: 'If the glory of such mighty deeds leave thee unmoved, and thou wilt not exert thyself for thine

[1] 'Describi'—so A.V. renders *describeretur* in *Luke* ii. 1.

[2] 'Profitendum'; cf. the use of 'profiteri' in *Luke* ii. 3, 5.

own fame's sake, yet consider the young Ascanius, Iulus thine hope and heir, to whom are due the kingdom of Italy and the land of the Romans'.

§ 5. For John, thy royal first-born, the king, whom, after the setting of the day which is now rising, the succeeding generation of the world awaits as their ruler, is to us as a second Ascanius, who, following in the footsteps of his great sire, shall rage like a lion against the followers of Turnus wheresoever they be, and towards the followers of Latinus shall be as gentle as a lamb. Let the lofty counsels of the most sacred king take heed lest the judgement from on high renew the bitter words of Samuel: 'When thou wast little in thine own sight, wast thou not made the head of the tribes of Israel? and the Lord anointed thee king over Israel. And the Lord sent thee on a journey, and said, Go and utterly destroy the sinners the Amalekites.' For thou likewise hast been anointed king that thou mayest smite Amalek, and not spare Agag; and mayest avenge him that sent thee on 'the brutal people', and their 'over-hasty rejoicing' (which things verily 'Amalek' and 'Agag' are said to signify).

§ 6. Through the spring as through the winter dost thou linger at Milan, thinking to extirpate the pestiferous hydra by cutting off its heads? But, if thou hadst turned thy thoughts back to the mighty deeds of glorious Alcides, thou wouldst perceive that thou, like him, art deceiving thyself; for the noisome beast, as its ever-multiplying heads sprouted again, grew stronger through the loss, until the hero in good earnest attacked the seat of life itself. For to destroy a tree the mere lopping of branches is of no avail—nay, the noxious growth will but come again the more thickly, so long as the roots are uninjured and can supply nourishment. What dost thou, the sole ruler of the world, imagine thou wilt have accomplished when thou hast set thy foot upon the neck of rebellious Cremona? Will not some unlooked-for madness next break out at Brescia or at Pavia? Yea, and when this has been chastised and has subsided, presently another will break out at Vercelli, or at Bergamo, or elsewhere, until the

root cause of this exuberance be removed, and, the root of all the mischief being plucked up, the spiny branches shall wither together with the trunk.

§ 7. Dost thou not know, most excellent Prince, and canst thou not descry from the watch-tower of thine exalted Highness [1] where that stinking vixen has her lair, undisturbed by the hunters? Verily the culprit drinks neither of headlong Po, nor of thine own Tiber, but her jaws pollute e'en now the rushing stream of Arno, and Florence—canst thou be unaware?—Florence is the name of this baleful pest. She is the viper that turns against the vitals of her own mother; she is the sick sheep that infects the flock of her lord with her contagion; she is the abandoned and unnatural Myrrha, inflamed with passion for the embraces of her father Cinyras; she is the passionate Amata, who, rejecting the fated marriage, did not shrink from claiming for herself a son-in-law whom the fates denied her, but in her madness urged him to battle, and at the last, in expiation for her evil designs, hanged herself in the noose. Verily with the ferocity of a viper she strives to rend her mother, when she sharpens the horns of rebellion against Rome, which made her in her own image and after her own likeness. Verily she exhales pestilential fumes from the reek of corruption, whence the neighbouring flocks all unknowing waste away, when by the lure of lying blandishments and deceit she wins over to herself those on her borders, and having won them deprives them of their senses. Verily she burns for the embraces of her own father, when she wickedly and wantonly seeks to compass a breach between thee and the supreme Pontiff, who is the father of fathers. Verily she resists the ordinance of God, worshipping the idol of her own will, when, spurning her rightful king, she is not ashamed, mad as she is, to barter rights not her own with a king not her own for the power to do evil. But let the infuriate woman take heed to the noose wherein she is entangling herself. For oft-times such an one is 'given over to a reprobate mind', to the end that

[1] *Celsitudo*, see above, p. 97, n. 1.

when so given over he may 'do those things which are not convenient'. For though the deeds be unjust, yet as retribution they are seen to be just.

§ 8. Up then! make an end of delay, thou new scion of Jesse, and take confidence from the eyes of the Lord God of Hosts, in whose sight thou strivest; and overthrow this Goliath with the sling of thy wisdom and with the stone of thy strength; for at his fall night and the shadow of fear shall cover the camp of the Philistines—the Philistines shall flee and Israel shall be delivered. Then our heritage which was taken away, and for which we lament without ceasing, shall be restored to us whole again. But even as now, remembering the most holy Jerusalem, we mourn as exiles in Babylon, so then as citizens, and breathing in peace, we shall think with joy on the miseries of Confusion.

Written in Tuscany, from beneath the springs of Arno, on the seventeenth day of April, in the first year of the most auspicious passage of the holy Henry into Italy.

EPISTOLA VII*

('*Gratissima regiae Benignitatis epistola*')

To the Empress Margaret

[April, 1311]

MSS.—This and the two following letters (the so-called Battifolle letters), addressed to the Empress Margaret, wife of the Emperor Henry VII, in the name of a Countess of Battifolle, have been preserved in one MS. only, namely the Vatican MS. (*Cod. Vat.-Palat. Lat. 1729*), in which they occur third, fourth, and fifth of the nine letters attributed to Dante in the MS.,[1] between the letter to the Florentines (*Epist.* vi) and that to the Counts Oberto and Guido da Romena (*Epist.* ii).

Printed Texts.[2]—1. Torri (1842): *Epist.* ix (*op. cit.*, p. 66).[3] 2. Giuliani (1882): *Epist.* ii* (*op. cit.*, p. 70). 3. Passerini (1910): *Epist.* xii (*op. cit.*, pp. 158–60). 4. Paget Toynbee (1912): (diplomatic transcript of the MS. text, together with collations of the several printed editions of the letter, and a list of proposed emendations in the printed texts) in *Modern Language Review* (vol. vii, pp. 20–1). 5. Moore (1914): (modernized transcript of the preceding) in *Modern Language Review* (vol. ix, p. 175). 6. Moore (1917): (reprint of the preceding) in *Studies in Dante*, iv (pp. 258–9). 7. Paget Toynbee (1917): (emended text) in *Modern Language Review* (vol. xii, pp. 303–4). 8. [Della Torre] (1917): *Epist.* xiii (*op. cit.*, pp. 272–4).

Translations.[2]—*Italian.* 1. Torri (1842): *op. cit.*, p. 67. 2. Passerini (1910): *op. cit.*, pp. 159–61.—*German.* Kannegiesser

[1] See above, p. 1.

[2] For titles of editions referred to here as already quoted, see above, pp. 1–2.

[3] For some unexplained reason Torri, followed by Giuliani and Passerini, departs from the MS. order of these three letters, placing the last letter first, the second third, and the first second.

(1845): *op. cit.*, pp. 196–7.—*English.* Paget Toynbee (1917): in *Modern Language Review*, vol. xii, pp. 304–5 (*see below*, pp. 110–11).

AUTHENTICITY.—These three letters are not assigned to Dante by name in the MS., but, as in the case of *Epist.* i,[1] from their position among acknowledged letters of Dante they were evidently regarded by the original compiler of the collection contained in the MS. (who is supposed to have been Boccaccio)[2] as having been written by Dante. The question as to their attribution to Dante was examined recently in great detail by Dr. Moore in an article in the *Modern Language Review*,[3] which was reprinted, with additions and corrections, in the fourth volume of his *Studies in Dante*,[4] the conclusion being strongly in favour of their Dantesque authorship.[5] Dante is known to have been in the Casentino, and in all probability at the Castle of Poppi (whence the third letter is dated) at about the time the letters were written.[6] The Countess, in whose name they are written, being herself incapable of composing a letter in Latin to the Empress according to the recognized epistolary formulae (including the observance of the *cursus*), Dante, in view of his relations with the Emperor,[7] was the natural person to be employed as secretary[8] for the purpose. The striking correspondence of

[1] See above, p. 3.

[2] See above, p. 3, n. 1.

[3] Vol. ix, pp. 173–89.

[4] Pp. 256–75, 287.

[5] See also Zenatti, in *Dante e Firenze*, pp. 74 n., 370 ff., 395 ff.; Novati, in *Dante e la Lunigiana*, pp. 509, 537, 540, and the references there given; Mascetta-Caracci, in *Dante e il 'Dedalo' Petrarchesco*, pp. 333–4; and Parodi, in *Bull. Soc. Dant. Ital.*, N.S. xix. 11–15; xxii. 271–2.

[6] See the colophons of his letters to the Florentines (*Epist.* vi) and to the Emperor (*Epist.* vii), and notes.

[7] His letter to the Emperor was written (April 17, 1311) just a month before the date (May 18) of the last of the three letters to the Empress.

[8] We know from Flavio Biondo that Dante had acted not long before as secretary to Scarpetta Ordelaffi at Forlì (see *Introduction*).

style, phraseology, and thoughts, and especially of indirect Virgilian quotations and reminiscences imbedded in the letters, with those of known works of Dante,[1] confirms the view that Dante was the writer.

DATE.—These three letters were probably all written in the spring of 1311—the first perhaps towards the end of April, after the Emperor had set out from Milan (April 19) in order to reduce Cremona and the other rebellious cities of Lombardy; the second at the end of April or beginning of May, during the operations against Cremona; and the third (dated May 18) after the reduction of Cremona.[2]

SUMMARY.—The Countess returns humble thanks for the condescension of the Empress in writing to send news of the well-being of the Emperor and of herself; and prays that God may grant success to the Emperor in his endeavours to restore peace and order.

Gloriosissimae atque clementissimae Dominae, Dominae Margaritae [a 3] *divina providentia Romanorum Reginae*

MS. = *Cod. Vat.-Palat. Lat.* 1729

[a] MS. .*M.*

[1] The more striking of these coincidences and parallels, most of which were pointed out by Zenatti and Dr. Moore, will be found registered below in the notes to the several letters.

[2] See *Chronological Table.*

[3] In the MS. the name is not given at length, but only the initial—see note on title of *Epist.* i; the full name is given in the title of the third letter, but this was perhaps due to the expansion by a copyist. Margaret of Brabant, the daughter of John I, Duke of Brabant, married Henry, Count of Luxemburg, afterwards Emperor as Henry VII, in 1292; she accompanied the Emperor on his progress into Italy, and died at Genoa on Dec. 14, 1311, where she was buried. Villani says of her (ix. 28): 'era tenuta santa e buona donna'; and Dino Compagni (iii. 30): 'la morte... per volontà di Dio partì dal mondo la nobile Imperadrice, con nobilissima fama di gran santità di vita onesta, ministra de' poveri

et semper Augustae,[1] *G. de Battifolle*[a 2]*, Dei et adiuvalis Magnificentiae*[3] *gratia Comitissa in Tuscia Palatina,*[4] *tam debitae quam devotae subiectionis officium*[5] *ante pedes.*[6]

Gratissima regiae Benignitatis epistola et meis oculis visa laetanter et manibus fuit assumpta reverenter,[7] ut decuit. Quumque significata per illam[8] mentis aciem penetrando dulcescerent, adeo spiritus lectitantis[b] fervore devotionis incaluit, ut numquam possint superare oblivia[c], nec memoria sine gaudio memorare. Nam quanta vel qualis[9] ego? Ad enarrandum mihi de sospitate consortis et sua (utinam diuturna!) coniunx fortissima Caesaris

[a] MS. *bat.* [b] MS. *letitantis* [c] MS. *oblia*

di Cristo. La quale fu sepellita con grande onore . . . nella Chiesa maggiore di Genova'. Both Villani and Dino say that she died in November, but see Del Lungo, *Dino Compagni e la sua Cronica*, vol. ii, p. 384, n. 26. She is said to have died of plague, contracted during the siege of Brescia in the preceding summer (see Del Lungo, *loc. cit.*, n. 23).

[1] See note on title of *Epist.* vii.

[2] This lady has been identified conjecturally with Gherardesca di Donoratico, wife of Guido di Simone di Battifolle, of the Conti Guidi (see Ricci, *L'Ultimo Rifugio di Dante*, p. 17).

[3] That is, the Emperor; cf. the titles of *Epist.* vii**: 'Dei et Imperii gratia largiente'; and *Epist.* vii***: 'Dei et Imperialis indulgentiae gratia'. For the use of 'Magnificentia' as a title of honour, see note on *Epist.* iv (iii). 6.

[4] See note on *Epist.* ii. 33.

[5] Cf. *Epist.* vi. 33–4: 'debitae subiectionis officium denegando'; and *Epist.* v. 62–3: 'Praeoccupetis faciem eius in confessione subiectionis'.

[6] Cf. *Epist.* vii *tit.*: 'osculum ante pedes'.

[7] Cf. *Epist.* ix. 1–2: 'In literis vestris, et reverentia debita et affectione receptis'.

[8] Cf. *Epist.* ix. 7–8: 'ad illarum [literarum] significata respondeo'.

[9] Cf. *Epist.* i. 7; *Epist.* x. 584–5; and *Par.* ii. 65; viii. 46; xxiii. 92; xxx. 120.

condescendat? Quippe tanti pondus honoris[1] neque[a] merita gratulantis neque dignitas postulabat. Sed nec etiam inclinari humanorum graduum[b] dedecuit apicem, unde velut a vivo fonte sanctae civilitatis exempla debent inferioribus emanare. Dignas itaque persolvere grates non opis est hominis,[2] verum ab homine alienum esse non reor pro insufficientiae supplemento Deum exorare quandoque. Nunc ideo regni siderii iustis precibus atque piis aula pulsetur, et impetret supplicantis affectus quatenus mundi Gubernator aeternus condescensui tanto praemia coaequata retribuat,[2] et ad auspitia[3] Caesaris et Augustae dexteram gratiae coadiutricis extendat, ut qui Romani Principatus[4] imperio barbaras nationes et cives in mortalium tutamenta subegit,[5] delirantis aevi[6] familiam sub triumphis et gloria sui Henrici[7] reformet[8] in melius.

TRANSLATION

To the most glorious and most clement Lady, the Lady Margaret, by Divine Providence Queen of the Romans and ever Augusta, G. di Battifolle, by the grace of God and of His allied Magnificence Countess Palatine in Tuscany, makes humble offering of her dutiful and devoted submission.

The most welcome letter of your Royal Benignity was

[a] MS. *atque* [b] MS. *humanorum in graduum*

[1] Cf. *V. E.* ii. 4, l. 30: 'materiae pondus'.

[2] *Aen.* i. 600–5; cf. *Epist.* i. 39–44 (and note); *Epist.* ii. 8; *Par.* iv. 121–3 (see Moore, *Studies in Dante*, iv. 270).

[3] See note on *Epist.* iv (iii). 16.

[4] See note on *Epist.* vii. 67.

[5] Cf. *Epist.* vi. 1–8.

[6] Cf. *Epist.* vi. 87: 'delirantis Hesperiae domitorem'.

[7] Cf. *Epist.* vii *tit.*: 'Gloriosissimo et felicissimo triumphatori . . . Henrico'.

[8] Cf. *Epist.* vii. 14.

beheld with joy by my eyes, and with becoming reverence was received into my hands. And when the purport thereof penetrated the recesses of my mind with its sweetness, my heart as I read glowed with so great fervour of devotion as oblivion can never extinguish, nor memory recall without delight. For who and what am I, that the most potent spouse of Caesar should condescend to inform me as to the well-being (which long may it endure!) of her Consort and of herself? Verily the weight of so great an honour neither the deserts nor the dignity of her who greets you could look for. Yet was it not unseemly that the pinnacle of the ranks of human society should thus incline itself, since from hence, as from a living fountain, the exemplars of sacred civilization must be transmitted to those below. To return adequate thanks is beyond the power of man, but I deem it to be not unnatural for man sometimes to make prayer to God for help in his insufficiency. Now therefore let the court of the starry realm be assailed with just and holy prayers, and may the zeal of the suppliant obtain that the Eternal Ruler of the world may recompense so great a condescension with proportionate reward, and may stretch forth the right hand of His grace in furtherance of the hopes of Caesar and of Augusta; to the end that He, who for the safeguard of mankind brought under the Empire of the Roman Prince all peoples barbarian and civilized, may by the triumphs and glory of His servant Henry regenerate the human family of this crazy age.

EPISTOLA VII**

('*Regalis epistolae documenta*')

To the Empress Margaret

[April or May, 1311]

MSS.—This, the second of the three so-called Battifolle letters, addressed to the Empress Margaret in the name of a Countess of Battifolle, has, like the other two, been preserved in one MS. only, the Vatican MS. (*Cod. Vat.-Palat. Lat. 1729*).[1]

Printed Texts.[2]—1. Torri (1842): *Epist.* x (*op. cit.*, p. 68).[3] 2. Giuliani (1882): *Epist.* iii* (*op. cit.*, p. 71). 3. Passerini (1910): *Epist.* xiii (*op. cit.*, pp. 162–4). 4. Paget Toynbee (1912): (diplomatic transcript of the MS. text, together with collations of the several printed editions of the letter, and a list of proposed emendations in the printed texts) in *Modern Language Review* (vol. vii, pp. 21–3). 5. Moore (1914): (modernized transcript of the preceding) in *Modern Language Review* (vol. ix, pp. 175–6). 6. Moore (1917): (reprint of the preceding) in *Studies in Dante*, iv (p. 259). 7. Paget Toynbee (1917): (emended text) in *Modern Language Review* (vol. xii, pp. 305–6). 8. [Della Torre] (1917): *Epist.* xiv (*op. cit.*, pp. 274–5).

Translations.[2]—*Italian.* 1. Torri (1842): *op. cit.*, p. 69. 2. Passerini (1910): *op. cit.*, pp. 163–5.—*German.* Kannegiesser (1845): *op. cit.*, pp. 197–8.—*English.* Paget Toynbee (1917): in *Modern Language Review*, vol. xii, pp. 306–7 (*see below*, p. 115).

Authenticity.—See introductory note to *Epist.* vii*.

Date.—This letter was probably written at the end of April or beginning of May, 1311 (see introductory note to *Epist.* vii*).

[1] See introductory note to *Epist.* vii*.

[2] For titles of editions referred to here as already quoted, see above, pp. 1–2.

[3] See above, p. 106, n. 3.

SUMMARY.—The Countess expresses her joy at the news received from the Empress as to the auspicious progress of the Emperor; declares her confident belief in his ultimate success with God's help; and craves the protection of the Empress for herself.

Serenissimae atque piissimae Dominae, Dominae Margaritae [a], *coelestis miserationis intuitu Romanorum Reginae et semper Augustae, devotissima sua G. de Battifolle* [b], *Dei et Imperii gratia largiente Comitissa in Tuscia Palatina, flexis humiliter genibus reverentiae debitum exhibere.*[1]

Regalis epistolae documenta gratuita [2] ea qua potui veneratione recepi, intellexi devote. Sed quum de prosperitate successuum vestri felicissimi cursus [3] familiariter intimata concepi,[4] quanto libens animus concipientis arriserit, placet potius commendare silentio tamquam nuntio meliori [5]; non enim verba significando sufficiunt

MS. = *Cod. Vat.-Palat. Lat.* 1729

[a] MS. *.M.* [b] MS. *bateffolle*, with the first *f* expunctuated

[1] See notes on title of *Epist.* vii*.

[2] Cf. *Epist.* iv (iii). 2: 'affectus gratuitas'.

[3] Cf. 'faustissimus cursus' in the colophons of *Epist.* vi, *Epist.* vii, *Epist.* vii***. The reference is perhaps to the pacification of Lodi effected by the Emperor after his departure (April 19) from Milan, and to the progress of his operations against Cremona, which was reduced to submission in May (see Del Lungo, *Dino Compagni e la sua Cronica*, vol. ii, p. 368 n.).

[4] Cf. *Epist.* ix. 5.

[5] Cf. *Canz.* vii. 17–18; *Conv.* iii. 4, ll. 16–22, 38–9; iv. 5, ll. 140–5; also *Par.* xxxiii. 55–6; *Epist.* x. 575–7 (see Moore, *Studies in Dante*, iv. 273).

ubi mens ipsa quasi debria superatur.[1] Itaque suppleat regiae Celsitudinis[2] apprehensio quae scribentis humilitas explicare non potest. At quamvis insinuata[3] per literas ineffabiliter grata fuerint et iucunda, spes amplior tamen et laetandi causas accumulat, et simul vota iusta confectat. Spero equidem, de coelesti provisione confidens, quam numquam falli vel praepediri posse non dubito, et quae humanae civilitati[4] de principe singulari[5] providit, quod exordia[6] vestri regni felicia semper in melius prosperata procedent. Sic igitur in praesentibus et futuris exultans, de Augustae clementia sine ulla haesitatione recurro, et suppliciter tempestiva deposco, quatenus me sub umbra tutissima vestri Culminis[7] taliter collocare dignemini, ut cuiusque sinistrationis ab aestu sim semper et videar esse secura.

[1] Cf. *Psalm* xxxv. 9; *Jerem.* xxiii. 9; and *Conv.* iii. 8, l. 133; *Inf.* xxix. 2; *Par.* xxvii. 3.

[2] Cf. *Epist.* vii. 136; instances of 'Celsitudo' as a title of honour are of frequent occurrence in the *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum*; thus the title of 'Regia Celsitudo' is applied by Innocent III (Oct. 4, 1204) to Frederick, King of Sicily (ed. Potthast, No. 2287), and (Jan. 21, 1209) to King John of England (Potth., No. 3618); and by Gregory IX (April 27, 1236) to Alexander II of Scotland (Potth., No. 10148); that of 'Imperialis Celsitudo' by Honorius III (June 27, 1222) to the Emperor of Constantinople (Potth., No. 6868); and by Gregory IX (July 22, 1227) to the Emperor Frederick II (Potth., No. 7972); and by the same (Oct. 1227) to the same (Potth., No. 8049).

[3] Cf. *Epist.* x. 538, 548, 577 (see Moore, *Studies in Dante*, iii. 336).

[4] Cf. *Epist.* vi. 4–8; *Mon.* i. 2, ll. 50, 54; 3, l. 2; *Conv.* iv. 4, ll. 1–3.

[5] See note on title of *Epist.* vii. (p. 87, n. 2).

[6] Cf. *Epist.* i. 17; vi. 194.

[7] Cf. *Epist.* viii. 164: 'Apostolicum Culmen', of the Pope; the title 'Culmen' is applied by Gregory IX (July 22, 1227) to the Emperor Frederick II (Potthast, *op. cit.*, No. 7972).

TRANSLATION

To the most serene and most gracious Lady, the Lady Margaret, by the merciful dispensation of Heaven Queen of the Romans and ever Augusta, her most devoted servant, G. di Battifolle, by the bountiful grace of God and of the Empire Countess Palatine in Tuscany, on her humbly bended knees presents her dutiful respects.

I received the favour of your royal letter with all possible reverence, and studied its contents with devotion. But when I perused your friendly intimation as to the prosperous issue of your most auspicious progress, with what great joy my heart was gladdened by the perusal I prefer to commend to silence, as to a more competent messenger; for words are not adequate as a means of expression when the mind itself is overcome as it were with inebriation. May then the understanding of your Royal Highness supply what the humility of your correspondent is not able to convey. But although the news contained in your letter was unspeakably welcome and pleasing, yet a larger hope both heaps up fresh causes for rejoicing, and already sees the fulfilment of its just aspirations. I indeed hope, confiding in the providence of Heaven, which, as I firmly believe, can never be deceived, nor be hindered of its purpose, and which has provided for civilized mankind one sole Prince, that the happy inauguration of your reign may be confirmed by ever-increasing prosperity. Exulting therefore in the present as in the future, without hesitation I commit myself to the clemency of Augusta, and humbly make early supplication that you may deign to place me in safe-keeping beneath your Eminence's shadow, in such wise that I may ever be, and may be seen to be, sheltered from the fiery heat of all and every untoward chance.

EPISTOLA VII***

('*Quum pagina vestrae Serenitatis*')

To the Empress Margaret

[May 18, 1311]

MSS.—This, the third of the three so-called Battifolle letters, addressed to the Empress Margaret in the name of a Countess of Battifolle, has, like the other two, been preserved in one MS. only, the Vatican MS. (*Cod. Vat.-Palat. Lat. 1729*).[1]

Printed Texts.[2]—1. Torri (1842): *Epist.* viii (*op. cit.*, p. 64).[3] 2. Giuliani (1882): *Epist.* i* (*op. cit.*, p. 69). 3. Passerini (1910): *Epist.* xi (*op. cit.*, pp. 154–6). 4. Paget Toynbee (1912): (diplomatic transcript of the MS. text, together with collations of the several printed editions of the letter, and a list of proposed emendations in the printed texts) in *Modern Language Review* (vol. vii, pp. 23–4). 5. Moore (1914): (modernized transcript of the preceding) in *Modern Language Review* (vol. ix, p. 176). 6. Moore (1917): (reprint of the preceding) in *Studies in Dante*, iv (pp. 259–60). 7. Paget Toynbee (1917): (emended text) in *Modern Language Review* (vol. xii, pp. 307–8). 8. [Della Torre] (1917): *Epist.* xii (*op. cit.*, pp. 271–2).

Translations.[2]—*Italian.* 1. Torri (1842): *op. cit.*, p. 65. 2. Passerini (1910): *op. cit.*, pp. 155–7.—*German.* Kannegiesser (1845): *op. cit.*, pp. 195–6.—*English.* Paget Toynbee (1917): in *Modern Language Review*, vol. xii, pp. 308–9 (*see below*, pp. 119–20).

Authenticity.—See introductory note to *Epist.* vii*.

Date.—This is one of three among the letters attributed to

[1] See introductory note to *Epist.* vii*.

[2] For titles of editions referred to here as already quoted, see above, pp. 1–2.

[3] See above, p. 106, n. 3.

Dante which is specifically dated (May 18, 1311), the other two being the letter to the Florentines (*Epist.* vi) and the letter to the Emperor Henry VII (*Epist.* vii).[1]

SUMMARY.—The Countess acknowledges with rejoicing the good news sent by the Empress as to the operations of the Emperor; and in obedience to the Empress's wish states that her husband and herself and children are in good health and happy at the thought of the reviving fortunes of the Imperial cause.

Illustrissimae atque piissimae Dominae, Dominae Margaritae, divina providentia Romanorum Reginae et semper Augustae, fidelissima sua G. de Battifolle[a]*, Dei et Imperialis indulgentiae gratia Comitissa in Tuscia Palatina, cum promptissima recommendatione se ipsam et voluntarium ad obsequia famulatum.*[2]

Quum pagina vestrae Serenitatis[3] apparuit ante scribentis et gratulantis aspectum, experta est mea pura fidelitas quam in dominorum successibus animi[b 4] subditorum

MS. = *Cod. Vat.-Palat. Lat.* 1729

[a] MS. *batifolle* [b] MS. *tā*; the reading in the text is conjectural; Torri, followed by Giuliani and Passerini, reads *pectora*

[1] See introductory notes to *Epist.* vi and *Epist.* vii* (pp. 65, 108).

[2] See notes on title of *Epist.* vii*.

[3] The title of 'Serenitas' applied to royal and imperial personages is of frequent occurrence in the *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum*; it is applied by Honorius III (May 29, 1224) to Louis VIII of France (ed. Potthast, No. 7202); by Gregory IX (March 30, 1227) to the Emperor Frederick II (Potth., No. 7869), &c.; that of 'Imperialis Serenitas' by the same (Aug. 19, 1236) to the same (Potth., No. 10228); that of 'Regalis Serenitas' by Innocent III (Feb. 25, 1208) to Peter II of Aragon (Potth., No. 3306).

[4] The MS. reading (*tā* = *tam*) makes no sense; it is possibly a corruption of *ām* (= *animi*).

fidelium collaetentur. Nam per ea quae continebantur in ipsa cum tota cordis hilaritate concepi qualiter dextera Summi Regis vota Caesaris et Augustae feliciter adimplebat.[1] Proinde gradum meae fidelitatis experta, petentis audeo iam inire officium.[2] Ergo ad audientiam vestrae Sublimitatis[3] exorans, et suppliciter precor et devote deposco quatenus mentis oculis[4] intueri digne- mini praelibatae interdum fidei puritatem. Verum quia nonnulla regalium clausurarum videbatur hortari ut, si quando nuntiorum facultas adesset, Celsitudini[5] regiae aliquid peroptando de status mei conditione referrem, quamvis quaedam praesumptionis facies[6] interdicat, obedientiae tamen suadente virtute obediam.[7] Audiat ex quo iubet Romanorum pia et serena Maiestas quoniam tempore missionis praesentium coniunx praedilectus et ego, Dei dono, vigebamus incolumes, liberorum sospi-

[1] This is perhaps a reference to the recent reduction of Cremona by the Emperor, and possibly also to the capture of Vicenza by Can Grande della Scala in the Imperial interest at about the same time (see *Chronological Table*).

[2] Cf. *Epist.* x. 89: 'lectoris officium'.

[3] 'Sublimitas' as a title of honour is applied by Honorius III (Nov. 22, 1226) to the Emperor Frederick II (Potthast, *op. cit.*, No. 7614); by Gregory IX (March 23, 1227) to the same (Potth., No. 7864); by the same (June 4, 1238) to the King of Portugal (Potth., No. 10611); and 'Regia Sublimitas' by the same (April 3, 1230) to Alexander II of Scotland (Potth., No. 8514).

[4] Cf. *Epist.* ii. 30 (where see note).

[5] See note on this word in *Epist.* vii** (p. 114, n. 2).

[6] Cf. *Epist.* vii. 26: 'facies veritatis'.

[7] Moore punctuates (*Mod. Lang. Rev.* ix. 176; *Studies in Dante*, iv. 260): 'quamvis quaedam praesumptionis facies interdicat obedientiae, tamen suadente virtute obediam'; but both the construction and the *cursus*—'fácies ìnterdícat' (*velox*)—point to the punctuation adopted in the text.

tate gaudentes, tanto solito laetiores quanto signa re- 20
surgentis Imperii meliora iam saecula promittebant.[1]

Missum de castro Poppii[2] xv Kalendas Iunias faustissimi cursus Henrici Caesaris ad Italiam anno primo.[3]

Translation

To the most illustrious and most gracious Lady, the Lady Margaret, by Divine Providence Queen of the Romans and ever Augusta, her most faithful servant, G. di Battifolle, by the grace of God and of the Imperial indulgence Countess Palatine in Tuscany, with the most zealous devotion offers herself and her willing service to command.

When the letter of your Serenity came before the eyes of her who writes and sends this greeting, my sincere devotion proved in what measure the hearts of devoted servants are made glad by the happy fortunes of their Lords. For from the contents of your letter I gathered with the most complete rejoicing of heart how the right hand of the Most High King was auspiciously bringing about the accomplishment of the wishes of Caesar and of Augusta. Having then made proof of the measure of my devotion, I now make bold to assume the part of petitioner. Supplicating therefore the attention of your Eminence, I humbly beg and earnestly beseech that you may deign to examine with the eyes of your mind the sincerity of the devotion of which I have spoken. But whereas a sentence in the royal letter seemed to urge that, should the opportunity of a messenger occur, I should furnish to your Royal Highness, agreeably to my fervent desire, some particulars as to the condition of my circumstances, although a certain appearance of presumption would forbid me, yet under the suasion of the virtue of obedience I will obey. May it please the gracious and

[1] Cf. *Epist.* vii. 20–1 : 'nova spes Latio saeculi melioris effulsit'.

[2] See note on colophon of *Epist.* vi.

[3] Cf. the colophons of *Epist.* vi and *Epist.* vii, and see above, p. 65.

serene Majesty of the Romans to learn, since such is her command, that at the moment of the dispatch of these presents my beloved husband and myself, by the gift of God, were prospering and in good health, rejoicing in the welfare of our children, and more than usually joyful in that the omens of the reviving fortunes of the Imperial cause were already giving promise of more happy times to come.

Dispatched from the castle of Pŏppi on the eighteenth of May[1] in the first year of the most auspicious passage of the Emperor Henry into Italy.

[1] 'xv Kalendas Iunias', which Torri renders 'il 16 Maggio', and Mascetta-Caracci (*loc. cit.*) 'il 16 Giugno'.

EPISTOLA VIII

('*Quomodo sola sedet civitas*')

To the Italian Cardinals

[May or June, 1314]

MSS.—This letter, like those to a Pistojan Exile (*Epist.* iii (iv)), and to a Friend in Florence (*Epist.* ix), has been preserved (unfortunately in a very corrupt text[1]) only in the Laurentian MS. (*Cod. xxix. 8*) already mentioned,[2] the portion of which containing these three letters is in the handwriting of Boccaccio, and was executed probably about the year 1348.

Printed Texts.[3]—1. Carlo Troya (1826): (in part[4]) in *Del Veltro Allegorico di Dante* (Firenze, 1826; pp. 214–16). 2. Witte (1826): (in part[5]) in *Antologia Fiorentina* (Firenze, Sett. 1826; vol. xxiii, pp. 57–9). 3. Witte (1827): *Epist.* vii, in *Dantis Alligherii Epistolae quae exstant* (pp. 53–61). 4. Fraticelli (1840): *Epist.* iv (*op. cit.*, pp. 256–74). 5. Torri (1842): *Epist.* xii (*op. cit.*, pp. 82–90). 6. Muzzi (1845): *Epist.* i, in *Tre Epistole Latine di Dante Allighieri restituite a più vera lezione* (Prato, 1845; pp. 11–18). 7. Fraticelli (1857): *Epist.* ix (*op. cit.*, pp. 510–18). 8. Giuliani (1882): *Epist.* viii (*op. cit.*,

[1] Consequently editors of the letter have indulged pretty freely in conjectural emendations. I have been able to restore the MS. reading in a considerable number of passages; but, as will be seen, I have myself introduced a certain number of conjectural emendations, for some of which, as well as for many valuable criticisms and suggestions, I am indebted to my friend the Principal of Brasenose (Dr. Heberden).

[2] See introductory note on *Epist.* iii (iv) (p. 19).

[3] For titles of editions referred to here as already quoted, see above, pp. 1–2.

[4] Troya printed the first part of the letter, with the omission of certain words, as far as the middle of § 4 ('vehiculum habeatis').

[5] Witte printed the portion omitted by Troya.

pp. 27–31). 9. Scartazzini (1890): in *Prolegomeni della Divina Commedia* (Leipzig, 1890; pp. 128–32). 10. Moore (1894): *Epist.* viii (*op. cit.*, pp. 411–13). 11. Passerini (1910): *Epist.* viii (*op. cit.*, pp. 80–94). 12. E. Rostagno (1912): (diplomatic transcript of the MS. text) in *La Bibliofilia* (Firenze, Nov. 1912).[1] 13. [Della Torre] (1917): *Epist.* xv (*op. cit.*, pp. 275–82). 14. Paget Toynbee (1918): (diplomatic transcript of the MS. text, together with collations of the various readings of the several printed editions of the letter, and a list of proposed emendations in the Oxford text) in *Modern Language Review* (vol. xiii, pp. 210–15). 15. Paget Toynbee (1918): (emended text) in *Modern Language Review* (vol. xiii, pp. 219–23).

TRANSLATIONS.[2]—*Italian.* 1. Fraticelli (1840): *op. cit.*, pp. 257–75. 2. Torri (1842): *op. cit.*, pp. 83–91. 3. Muzzi (1845): *op. cit.*, pp. 26–31. 4. Fraticelli (1857): (revised trans.) *op. cit.*, pp. 511–19. 5. Passerini (1910): *op. cit.*, pp. 81–95.—*German.* 1. Kannegiesser (1845): *op. cit.*, pp. 201–7. 2. Scartazzini (1879): (extracts) in *Dante Alighieri, seine Zeit, sein Leben und seine Werke* (pp. 406–8). 3. Wegele (1879): (extracts) in *Dante Alighieri's Leben und Werke* (pp. 262–5). 4. Kraus (1897): (extracts) in *Dante, sein Leben und sein Werk* (pp. 308–11).—*English.* 1. Latham (1891): *op. cit.*, pp. 164–73. 2. Wicksteed (1898): in *A Provisional Translation of Dante's Political Letters* (pp. 22–8). 3. Wicksteed (1904): (revised trans.) in *Translation of the Latin Works of Dante Alighieri* (pp. 331–7). 4. Paget Toynbee (1918): in *Modern Language Review*, vol. xiii, pp. 223–7 (*see below*, pp. 143–7).

AUTHENTICITY.—This letter is the third of the three mentioned by Villani in his notice of Dante in his *Cronica*: 'In tra l'altre fece tre nobili pistole; l'una mandò al reggimento di Firenze dogliendosi del suo esilio sanza colpa; l'altra mandò allo 'mperadore Arrigo . . .; la terza a' cardinali italiani, quand' era la vacazione dopo la morte di papa Clemente, acciocchè

[1] This had originally been printed separately 'per nozze'.

[2] For titles of editions referred to here as already quoted, see above, p. 2.

s'accordassono a eleggere papa italiano' (ix. 136). It was known to Petrarch, who in his canzone 'Spirto gentil' addressed to the Roman Senator Bosone da Gubbio in 1336 or 1337, in which he conjures him to make an end of the factions in Rome, and to restore the city to its ancient freedom and greatness,[1] echoes Dante's phrase 'Roma nunc Hannibali nedum alii miseranda' (ll. 142–4) in the line 'Ch' Annibale, non ch' altri, farian pio' (l. 65).[2] The letter was also known to Rienzi, who introduced many phrases from it in his own letter (written in 1351) to the Cardinal Guy de Boulogne.[3] The Dantesque

[1] See *Le Rime di Francesco Petrarca*, edited by G. Mestica, Firenze, 1896, p. 79.

[2] Witte, Fraticelli, Torri, Bartoli, and others draw attention to a supposed imitation of this same phrase from Dante's letter in the oration delivered at Florence on July 2, 1347, by Francesco de' Baroncelli, as envoy from Rienzi. But Baroncelli's source was not Dante's letter, but the canzone of Petrarch referred to above, as a comparison of the following passage from Baroncelli's oration with ll. 57–65 of the canzone proves beyond a doubt: 'Le donne lagrimose e 'l popolo lacerato, i romei, religiosi e altra gente, tutti travagliati e oppressi, quale per uno modo, quale per un altro, mostravano le loro piaghe delle loro ingiurie a mille insieme, che non solo altri, ma Annibale crudelissimo avrian fatto pietoso' (in *Cronica di Giovanni Villani*, ed. Magheri, vol. viii, p. ccxxiv). The lines of the canzone (numbered vi in Mestica's edition, usually xi) are:

> Le donne lagrimose e 'l vulgo inerme
> De la tenera etate e i vecchi stanchi,
> Ch' ànno sè in odio e la soverchia vita,
> E i neri fraticelli e i bigi e i bianchi,
> Coll' altre schiere travagliate e 'nferme,
> Gridan: O signor nostro, aita, aita;
> E la povera gente sbigottita
> Ti scopre le sue piaghe a mille a mille,
> Ch' Annibale, non ch' altri, farian pio.

[3] In *Epistolario di Cola di Rienzo*, ed. A. Gabrielli, Roma, 1890, pp. 204 ff. Compare 'Dicet aliquis forte mihi: quid tua refert, o minime civium, qualitercumque arca Romanae reipublicae recalcitrantibus deferatur a bobus? et velis praesumptuosa tu manu

authorship of the letter, which has been disputed, but is now generally admitted, was first recognized by Carlo Troya.[1]

DATE.—After the death of the Gascon Pope Clement V ('il Guasco', *Par.* xvii. 82), at Roquemaure on the Rhone, on April 20, 1314, the Cardinals to the number of twenty-four assembled in Conclave at Carpentras, about sixteen miles from Avignon, to elect a successor. Of these, six only were Italian, namely Niccolò da Prato, Napoleone Orsini, Guglielmo de' Longhi, Francesco Gaetani, and Jacopo and Pietro Colonna; the rest being French, for the most part Gascons devoted to the interests represented by the late Pope. The Italian Cardinals fixed their hopes on a candidate, an Italian Bishop, though a Frenchman (Guillaume de Mandagot, Cardinal-Bishop of Palestrina), who should restore the Papal See to Rome, and should rescue the Papacy from the predominating French, and especially Gascon, influence. The Gascon party, fearing that if the Bishop of Palestrina were elected their plans would be defeated, on July 14, with Bertrand de Got, the late Pope's nephew, at their head, burst into the Conclave, with arms in their hands, and, shouting 'Death to the Italian Cardinals', drove them out and forced them to take refuge at Valence.[2] The Conclave being thus

illam erigere, quae non nisi forsan suprema dispensatione sic trahitur, et quod dispensatorie agitur, tenere tu repenses? an putas, ovis una, totum romanum gregem plus suo pastore diligere . . .?' with ll. 67–72 of Dante's letter. Rienzi speaks of the 'romanum ovile' (cf. l. 22); of the 'sacrilegii, scismatis haeresisque commaculae' (cf. ll. 30–2); of the 'praecipitium' into which the people are being led (cf. ll. 48–9); of 'civitatem sanctam, evacuatam, . . . desolatam' (cf. ll. 144–5); of 'piissima mater' (cf. l. 107), &c.

[1] See *Del Veltro Allegorico di Dante*, pp. 204–5, 214–16.

[2] An account of this outrage was given by the Italian Cardinals themselves in an encyclical letter dated from Valence on Sept. 8 of the same year, within a few weeks of the event: 'Venerabilibus in Christo Patribus religiosis viris fratribus Cisterciensi[bus], de Firmitate, de Pontiniaco, de Claravalle, et de Morimundo monasteriorum Abbatibus, necnon et generali capitulo ordinis Cisterciensis,

broken up, the See remained vacant for more than two years, until at last a candidate was agreed upon in the person of

amicis carissimis, miseratione divina fratres Nicolaus Ostiensis et Vellitrensis Episcopus, Neapoleo sancti Adriani, Guillermus sancti Nicolai in carcere Tulliano, Franciscus sanctae Mariae in Cosmedin, et Iacobus et Petrus de Columna sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae Diaconi Cardinales, salutem et sinceram in Domino caritatem. . . . Dum nos et alii Ecclesiae Romanae Cardinales post obitum Domini Clementis Papae quinti essemus in palatio civitatis Carpentoratensis ad eligendum futurum summum Pontificem, sub uno conclavi, et nos Cardinales Italici, non quaerentes quae nostra sunt, sed quae Dei, neglectis singularibus affectionibus reciprocis in nos ipsos, peteremus hominem ad sustinendas columnas Ecclesiae, qui dictam Ecclesiam reformando dirigeret, essetque in hoc tantum nostra omnis cura, omnis intentio, hic affectus, subito Vascones, seu quod libram examinis sub futuro summo Pontifice teste conscientia formidarent, seu quod armorum violentia crederent hereditario iure Dei sanctuarium possidere, ex deliberato atque proposito, tamen sub palliato colore, deferendi videlicet corpus eiusdem Papae, in copiosa peditum et equitum armatorum multitudine convenerunt, et scelus quod mente conceperant producentes in actum, die XXIV Iulii arma sumpserunt bellica, et sub ordinatione Bertrandi de Guto et Raymundi Guillermi Domini Papae nepotum civitatem Carpentoratensem intrantes, multos curiales Italicos, cum soli Italici peterentur ad mortem, inhumaniter trucidarunt, et se ad praedam convertentes et spolia, crescente rabie ac ad crudelia fervescente furore, in diversis civitatis partibus incendia posuerunt. Nec iis contenti, plurimorum Cardinalium ex nobis hospitia duris insultibus et iniectis ignibus invadentes, bella ibidem acerrima cum clangore tubarum hostiliter intulerunt. Invalescente tandem graviori periculo et gravissimo, sicut in captis civitatibus assolet, increbrescente rumore, multitudo Vasconum et equitum armatorum ostium dicti conclavis obsedit acclamando *Moriantur Cardinales Italici; Volumus Papam, volumus Papam*; et ipsis in huiusmodi acclamatione frementibus, alia multitudo Vasconum et equitum armatorum plateam dicti conclavis invasit, similibus circumdato palatio vocibus acclamando. Nos vero praefati Cardinales Italici circumsepti tantis angustiis et mori tam turpiter tam crudeliter metuentes, cum omnia circum conclave armatorum multitudo teneret, neque

Jacques d'Euse of Cahors, Archbishop of Avignon, who was elected Pope at Lyons on Aug. 7, 1316, and took the title of John XXII. It is impossible to fix precisely the date of Dante's letter to the Italian Cardinals; but from his reference (in ll. 182–3) to 'the contest that is already begun', it appears probable that it was written soon after the death of Clement, in the early days of the Conclave, that is in May or June, 1314, and at any rate before the irruption of the Gascons into the Conclave which reduced the Italian Cardinals to impotence.

SUMMARY.—§ 1. As the corruption of the priesthood of old brought ruin on Jerusalem, whose fate was lamented by Jeremiah; § 2. so now Rome, which by the blood of Peter and Paul was consecrated as the Apostolic See, suffers in like manner, and like her is left desolate. § 3. Jews and Gentiles make a mock of her, and the powers of evil prevail, which things astrologers and false prophets declare to be of necessity, whereas they arise from the abuse of free will. § 4. The Cardinals, the special guardians of the Church, have gone astray from the track, and have brought themselves and their charge to the verge of destruction. Let them take warning by the fate of Nadab and Abihu, and of them that sold doves in the temple, and repent them of their transgressions ere it be too late. § 5. If the writer be charged with the presumption of Uzzah, he will reply that Uzzah laid his hand on the Ark, whereas he gives heed to the unruly oxen that are dragging it into the wilderness. § 6. If shame be not dead, they should blush at the thought that his voice alone, and that of a private individual, should be raised in lamentation over the demise of the Church. § 7. But little wonder, for one and all are devoted to covetousness, the Fathers of the Church are neglected for the Decretalists, and

publicus pateret egressus, tandem posteriorem murum palatii, facto inibi parvo foramine, pro nostra salute rupimus, de Carpentorate postmodum dispersi discedentes, non sine mortis periculo ad diversa loca discessimus, et per misericordiam Dei, quae est illa quae nos salvos reddidit, ad terras pervenimus amicorum.... Datum Valentiae die octava Septembris.' (See Baluze, *Vitae Paparum Avenionensium*, Paris, 1693; vol. ii, col. 286–8.)

not God but riches are the object of their worship. § 8. Let them not suppose that he is alone in his opinion, for on all sides men are thinking what he proclaims aloud; but they hold their peace instead of bearing witness. § 9. It is they themselves have compelled him to lift up his voice, and they should be ashamed to receive rebuke from so humble a source; but shame may beget repentance, which in turn may give birth to purpose of amendment. § 10. With this view let them consider the present unhappy condition of Rome, deprived as she is of both her luminaries, which is their special concern as Cardinals of the Roman Church; and let them reflect that it is they, and two of them in particular, who have been responsible for her misfortunes. § 11. But there shall be amendment of the evil if they one and all strive manfully on behalf of the Church, and of Rome, and of Italy, so that the greed of the Gascons be defeated, and they be made an example for all ages.

[*Cardinalibus Italicis Dantes de Florentia, etc.*[a] [1]]

§ 1. 'Quomodo sola sedet civitas, plena populo! facta est quasi vidua domina gentium.'[2] Principum quondam Pharisaeorum cupiditas, quae sacerdotium vetus abominabile fecit, non modo Leviticae prolis ministerium transtulit,[3] quin et praeelectae civitati David obsidionem peperit et ruinam. Quod quidem de specula punctali[b] [4]

MS. = *Cod. Laurent.* xxix. 8 O. = *Oxford Dante*

[a] O. *Dantes Alighierius de Florentia* [b] MS. *puctalis*; O. *provecta*

[1] This heading obviously did not form part of the original letter.

[2] *Lam.* i. 1. [3] 2 *Chron.* xi. 14.

[4] Presumably from *punctus*, in the sense of 'at the point', 'at the summit', hence 'exalted', 'sublime'. I have not been able to meet with another instance of the word. For the expression, cf. *Epist.* vii. 136–7: 'de specula summae celsitudinis'.

aeternitatis intuens Qui solus aeternus est, mentem Deo dignam viri prophetici [1] per Spiritum Sanctum sua iussione impressit, et sanctam [a] Ierusalem velut exstinctam, per verba praesignata, et nimium, proh dolor! iterata, deflevit.

§ 2. Nos quoque, eundem [b] Patrem et Filium, eundem Deum et Hominem, nec non eandem Matrem et Virginem profitentes, propter quos et propter quorum salutem ter de caritate interrogatum et dictum est [c 2]: 'Petre, pasce oves meas', scilicet sacrosanctum ovile, Romam [d 3] (cui post tot triumphorum pompas, et verbo et opere Christus orbis confirmavit imperium,[4] quam etiam ille Petrus, et Paulus gentium praedicator,[5] in Apostolicam sedem

[a] O. *et is sanctam* [b] MS. *idem* [c] MS. *ter de carite interogatum dictum est*; O. *ter de caritate interrogato, dictum est* [d] MS. *petre pasce sacrosanctam ouilem romanam*; O. *'Petre, pasce sacrosanctum ovile'; Romam*

[1] Jeremiah.

[2] The insertion of *et* is required by the sense, and also rectifies the *cursus*—'(interro)gátum et dictum est' (*tardus*).

[3] There can hardly be a doubt that there is an omission here on the part of the copyist of the MS. (whose carelessness is evidenced by his writing *carite* for *caritate*), and that Dante must have quoted the actual words of the Vulgate, 'pasce oves meas' (*John* xxi. 15–17). Possibly the original reading was, '"Petre, pasce oves meas", scilicet pasce sacrosanctum ovile, Romam', in which case the omission may have been due to the repetition of the word 'pasce' (on scribal errors of this nature arising from *ὁμοιοτέλευτα*, see Moore, *Studies in Dante*, iv. 6). The insertion of *scilicet* seems necessary; the abbreviation of which (ſ.), especially when preceding another ſ (= *s*), might easily have been overlooked by the copyist. The reading here adopted follows in part a suggestion of Giuliani (see also *Bull. Soc. Dant. Ital.*, N.S. xix. 269, n. 2).

[4] Cf. Orosius, *Adv. Paganos*, vi. 22, §§ 6, 7, 8; vii. 3, § 4.

[5] *Rom.* xi. 13; 1 *Tim.* ii. 7; 2 *Tim.* i. 11.

aspergine proprii[a] sanguinis consecrarunt[b][1]), cum Ieremia,[c] non lugenda[d] postvenientes, sed post ipsa[e] dolentes, viduam et desertam[f] lugere compellimur.

§ 3.[2] Piget[g], heu! non minus quam plagam lamentabilem cernere[h] haeresium,[3] quod[4] impietatis[i] fautores, Iudaei, Saraceni, et gentes[j] sabbata nostra rident,[5] et, ut fertur, conclamant: 'Ubi est Deus eorum?'[6] et quod forsan[k] suis insidiis apostatae[7] Potestates[8] contra[l]

[a] MS. *propij* [b] MS. *consecrauit* [c] O. *quam nunc cum I.* [d] O. *lugendo* [e] MS. *ipso*; O. *ipsum* [f] MS. *disertam* [g] O. *compellimur; piget* [h] MS. *cernerei.* (?) [i] MS. *heresium. impietatis*; O. *haeresium. Impietatis* [j] MS. *egentes* [k] O. *Et forsan* [l] MS. *insidiis apotestate potentes contra*; O. *insidiis ac potestati contra*

[1] According to tradition St. Peter was crucified, and St. Paul was beheaded, at Rome. Cf. Orosius: '[Nero] primus Romae Christianos suppliciis et mortibus affecit, ac per omnes provincias pari persecutione excruciari imperavit, ipsumque nomen exstirpare conatus beatissimos Christi apostolos Petrum cruce, Paulum gladio occidit' (*Adv. Paganos*, vii. 7, § 10); and *Par.* xviii. 131–2.

[2] The reconstruction of the text makes it necessary to begin § 3 here, instead of at 'impietatis fautores' as in the Oxford text.

[3] It is possible that the correct reading is not *cernere haeresium*, which is unsatisfactory as violating the *cursus*. The MS. reading appears to be *cernerei heresium*, a stroke, which looks like a final *i*, being attached to *cernere*; as this is followed by a point it may have originally been written separately and intended for the abbreviation of *idest*, thus giving *cernere, idest haeresium*, as the reading, which restores the *cursus*—'ídest haerésium' (*tardus*).

[4] The insertion of *quod* here seems necessary in view of the *et quod forsan* of l. 36.

[5] *Lam.* i. 7 (cf. *Par.* v. 81).

[6] *Psalm* lxxviii. 10; cxiii[2]. 2.

[7] I am indebted to Dr. Heberden for this brilliant and wholly convincing emendation of the MS. reading *apotestate*, which was no doubt due to the scribe's ignorance of the comparatively unfamiliar *apostate* (= *apostatae*). The word occurs twice in the Vulgate, viz. *Job* xxxiv. 18; *Prov.* vi. 16.

[8] This emendation gives the required antithesis to the *defensantes*

defensantes Angelos hoc adscribunt; et, quod horribilius est, quod astronomi [a] quidam et crude prophetantes necessarium asserunt, quod, male usi libertate arbitrii, eligere maluistis.[1]

§ 4. Vos equidem, ecclesiae militantis veluti primi praepositi pili,[2] per manifestam orbitam Crucifixi curum [b] Sponsae regere negligentes, non aliter quam falsus auriga Phaëton[3] exorbitastis; et, quorum sequentem gregem per saltus peregrinationis huius[4] illustrare interat, ipsum una vobiscum [c] ad praecipitium traduxistis. Nec adimitanda vobis recenseo, quum [d] dorsa, non vultus, ad Sponsae vehiculum[5] habeatis—vere dici possetis [e], qui prophetae ostensi sunt, male versi ad templum[6]—; vobis [f] ignem de coelo missum despicientibus, ubi nunc

[a] MS. *astronomij*; O. omits *quod* [b] MS. *cursum* [c] MS. *nobiscum* [d] MS. *nec adimitanda recenseo cum*; O. *Nec ad imitandum recenseo vobis exempla, quum* [e] O. *possitis* [f] MS. *Nobis*

Angelos of l. 37. It is probable that the scribe, having written *apotestate* instead of *apostate*, to avoid the apparent repetition then altered *potestates* into *potentes*. Dante in this passage seems to have had in mind *Ephes.* vi. 11–12.

[1] Cf. the passage on necessity and free will in *Purg.* xvi. 67–78.

[2] Cf. *Par.* xxiv. 59, where Dante speaks of St. Peter as 'l' alto primipilo'. The *centurio primi pili* was the centurion of the front rank of the *triarii* (the veteran soldiers who formed the third rank from the front when the legion was drawn up in order of battle), and hence was the chief centurion of the legion. Cf. Vegetius, *De Re Militari*, ii. 8.

[3] Cf. *Inf.* xvii. 107; *Purg.* iv. 72; xxix. 118–20; *Par.* xvii. 3; xxxi. 125; *Conv.* ii. 15, ll. 53 ff. Dante got the story of Phaëthon from Ovid, *Metam.* ii. 1–324.

[4] *Heb.* xi. 13.

[5] Cf. *Purg.* xxxii. 119, where the mystic car, representing the Church, is spoken of as 'il trionfal veiculo'.

[6] *Ezek.* viii. 16.

arae ab alieno calescunt[1]; vobis columbas in templo[a] vendentibus,[2] ubi quae[b] pretio mensurari non possunt, in detrimentum hinc inde commorantium[c][3], venalia facta sunt. Sed attendatis ad funiculum,[4] attendatis ad ignem[5]! neque patientiam contemnatis Illius, qui ad poenitentiam vos expectat. Quod si de praelibato praecipitio dubitatur, quid aliud declarando respondeam, nisi quod in Alcimum[6] cum Demetrio[7] consensistis?

§ 5. Forsitan, 'et quis iste[d], qui Ozae[8] repentinum supplicium non formidans, ad arcam, quamvis labantem, se erigit?' indignanter obiurgabitis. Quippe de ovibus

[a] O. *in templis* [b] MS. *ubique* [c] MS. *hinc inde commurancium*; O. *haec ad commutandum* [d] O. *Forsitan et 'quis*

[1] The reference is to Nadab and Abihu, who 'offered strange fire before the Lord', *Levit.* x. 1.

[2] *John* ii. 14–15.

[3] The use of *commoror* with *hinc inde* is unusual, and raises a doubt as to the reading. Dr. Heberden suggests that the true reading may be *commeantium* or *commigrantium*.

[4] The 'scourge of small cords' (in the Vulgate 'flagellum de funiculis') used by Christ to purge the temple, *John* ii. 15.

[5] That is, the fire which consumed Nadab and Abihu, *Levit.* x. 2 (see note on l. 56). Cf. *Epist.* vii. 170: 'attendat ad laqueum'.

[6] Alcimus was the high-priest who was appointed by Demetrius, King of Syria, in opposition to Judas Maccabaeus (1 *Maccab.* vii–ix).

[7] Demetrius I, King of Syria, 162–150 B.C. When he came to the throne, Alcimus, who was captain of 'all the wicked and ungodly men of Israel', wishing to be appointed high-priest, accused Judas Maccabaeus of being hostile to the king, who sent a force against Judas and made Alcimus high-priest (1 *Maccab.* vii. 9). The allusion is to the dealings of Philip the Fair of France and Pope Clement V (typified respectively by Demetrius and Alcimus) with regard to the election of the latter to the Papal See (cf. Villani, viii. 80).

[8] 2 *Sam.* vi. 6–7; cf. *Purg.* x. 55–7. For Rienzi's imitation of this passage, see above, p. 123, n. 3.

in pascuis[a 1] Iesu Christi minima una sum[2]; quippe nulla pastorali auctoritate abutens, quoniam divitiae mecum non sunt. Non ergo divitiarum, sed gratia Dei sum id quod sum,[3] et 'zelus domus eius comedit me[b 4].' Nam etiam in ore lactentium et infantium[5] sonuit iam Deo placita[c] veritas, et caecus natus veritatem confessus est, quam Pharisaei non modo tacebant, sed et maligne reflectere conabantur.[6] His habeo persuasum quod audeo. Habeo praeter haec[d] praeceptorem Philoso-

[a] MS., O. *ovibus pascuis* [b] MS. omits *me*; O. *me comedit* [c] MS. *placida* [d] O. *hoc*

[1] *Pascuus* is used only of land and the like (as 'pascuus ager', 'pascua rura', 'pascua silva'), never of animals. Either, therefore, the MS. reading *ovibus pascuis* is corrupt, or it involves a blunder. It is possible, but hardly probable, that Dante may have been misled by such passages of the Vulgate as *Psalm* lxxviii. 13 ('oves pascuae tuae') and *Psalm* xcix. 3 ('oves pascuae eius'), where *pascuae* is not the adjective, but the genitive singular of *pascua*. It seems necessary, therefore, to supply *in*, which (in MS. *ī*) might easily have been overlooked by a careless copyist. The phrase 'in pascuis' occurs in this same letter (l. 100). Giuliani recognized the difficulty and read *pascui*, but in mediaeval Latin the neuter *pascuum* was not used in the singular; the rule being that for the singular the feminine *pascua* should be used, and for the plural either the feminine *pascuae* or the neuter *pascua*. Thus Giovanni da Genova says in the *Catholicon*: 'A *pasco, -scis*, derivatur *hec pascua, -scue*; unde in psalmo: In loco pascue ibi me collocavit. Sed in plurali est neutri generis, scilicet, *hec pascua, -orum*; unde Ezech. xxxiiii: Nonne satis erat vobis pascua bona depasci. Invenitur etiam in feminino genere *hec pascue, -arum*; unde idem propheta in eodem capitulo: Insuper et reliquias pascuarum vestrarum conculcastis pedibus vestris. Idem in eodem capitulo: In montibus excelsis Israel erunt pascue earum.'

[2] Cf. 1 *Cor.* xv. 9; and *Quaestio*, tit. 3, where Dante speaks of himself as 'inter vere philosophantes minimus'.

[3] 1 *Cor.* xv. 10.

[4] *Psalm* lxviii. 10.

[5] *Psalm* viii. 3.

[6] *John* ix. 1–41.

phum, qui cuncta moralia dogmatizans, amicis omnibus veritatem docuit praeferendam.[1] Nec Ozae praesumptio, quam obiectandam quis crederet quasi temere prorumpentem me inficit[a] sui tabe reatus; quia ille ad arcam, ego ad boves calcitrantes per abvia[b] distrahentes, attendo[c]. Ille ad arcam proficiat, qui salutiferos oculos ad naviculam fluctuantem aperuit![d 2]

§ 6. Non itaque videor quemquam exacerbasse ad iurgia; quin potius confusionis ruborem et in vobis et aliis, nomine solo archimandritis[3] (per orbem[4] duntaxat[e] pudor eradicatus non sit totaliter) accendisse, quum de tot pastoris officium usurpantibus, de tot ovibus, et si non abactis, neglectis tamen et incustoditis in pascuis, una sola vox, sola pia, et haec privata, in matris Ecclesiae quasi funere audiatur.

§ 7. Quidni? Cupiditatem unusquisque sibi duxit uxorem,[f 5] quemadmodum et vos, quae nunquam pietatis

[a] O. *inficiet* [b] O. *et per abvia* [c] MS. *actendor* [d] O. *aperuit.*
[e] O. *archimandritis, per orbem (duntaxat* [f] MS., O. *duxit in uxorem*

[1] *Ethics* i. 6; cf. *Conv.* iv. 8, ll. 141–4; *Mon.* iii. 1, ll. 17–18.

[2] *Matt.* viii. 24–6; *Mark* iv. 36–9; *Luke* viii. 22–5.

[3] Cf. *Par.* xi. 99, where Dante applies the term to St. Francis; and *Mon.* iii. 9, l. 123, where he applies it to St. Peter. Uguccione da Pisa in his *Magnae Derivationes* says of this word (s.v. *mando*): '*Hec mandra, -dre*, id est bubulcus, a bobus sibi commendatis, vel quia boum nomina mandat memorie . . .; vel *mandros* dicitur ovis, unde *hic* et *hec mandra*, pastor ovium, et per compositionem *hic* et *hec archimandrita, -te*, quasi princeps vel pastor ovium, unde et quadam translacione episcopi et archiepiscopi et etiam sacerdotes dicuntur *archimandrite*, quasi pastores ovium'.

[4] Giuliani is undoubtedly right in his suggestion that the parenthesis should begin (as in Muzzi's text), not at *duntaxat* as in the *textus receptus*, but at *per orbem*.

[5] The MS. reads *duxit in uxorem*, but the usual phrase is *ducere*

et aequitatis, ut caritas, sed semper impietatis et iniquitatis est genetrix. Ha! mater piissima, Sponsa Christi, quae [a] in aqua et Spiritu [1] generas tibi filios ad ruborem! Non caritas, non Astraea,[2] sed filiae [b] sanguisugae[3] factae sunt tibi nurus. Quae quales pariant tibi foetus, praeter Lunensem pontificem,[4] omnes alii contestantur. Iacet Gregorius [5] tuus in telis aranearum, iacet Ambrosius[6] in neglectis clericorum latibulis, iacet Augustinus[7] adiectus,

[a] O. *quos* [b] MS. *filias*

uxorem; cf. *Gen.* xxv. 20: 'Isaac duxit uxorem Rebeccam'; and xxix. 28: 'Rachel duxit uxorem'; also *Judges* iii. 6; 1 *Kings* vii. 8; xvi. 31, &c.

[1] *John* iii. 5.

[2] Cf. *Mon.* i. 11, ll. 7–8: 'Virgo vocabatur Iustitia, quam etiam Astraeam vocabant'; cf. also *Purg.* xxii. 71; and *Epist.* vii. 23.

[3] *Prov.* xxx. 15.

[4] The Prelate here referred to is supposed to be Gherardino da Filattiera, a member of the Malaspina family, of the Spino Fiorito branch, who was Bishop of Luni from 1312 to 1321. He was an ardent Guelf, and having refused to submit to the Emperor Henry VII, and to take part in his coronation at Milan, was deprived of his temporal power; this, however, after the death of the Emperor he in part recovered by the aid of Castruccio Castracani, whom he nominated viscount of the Bishopric of Luni, July 4, 1314. For Dante's ironical exception of the Bishop here from his condemnation of the Italian Church dignitaries, cf. the similar exceptions in *Inf.* xxi. 41: 'fuor che Bonturo'; and *Inf.* xxix. 125: 'Trammene Stricca'.

[5] Gregory the Great, Pope, 590–604; his chief works were the *Moralia*, an exposition of the Book of Job in 35 books, his *Homilies* on Ezekiel, and on the Gospels, and his *Dialogues* in four books on the lives and miracles of the Italian saints.

[6] St. Ambrose, 334–397; author of many hymns, and of exegetical works on the Psalms and Gospel of St. Luke.

[7] St. Augustine, 354–430; his two most famous books are the *Confessiones* and *De Civitate Dei*, besides which Dante quotes his *De Doctrina Christiana* (cf. *Mon.* iii. 4, ll. 60–72) and *De Quantitate animae* (cf. *Epist.* x. 556. and note).

Dionysius,[a 1] Damascenus[2] et Beda[3]; et nescio quod *Speculum*,[4] Innocentium,[5] et Ostiensem[6] declamant.[7]
120 Cur non ?[b] Illi Deum quaerebant, ut finem et optimum; isti census et beneficia consequuntur. 90

§ 8. Sed, o Patres, ne me phoenicem extimetis[c] in

[a] O. *iacet Augustinus; abiectus Dionysius* [b] O. *Cur enim?* [c] O. *aestimetis*

[1] Dionysius the Areopagite, the Athenian whose conversion to Christianity by the preaching of St. Paul is mentioned in the *Acts* (xvii. 34). He was credited with the authorship of a work on the Celestial Hierarchy, which was translated into Latin in Cent. ix and became the mediaeval text-book of angelic lore; and of another on the Names of God, both of which were known to, and utilized by, Dante. Cf. *Epist.* x. 405, and note.

[2] John of Damascus, *c.* 680–756; his most important work was an exposition of the orthodox faith, which was translated into Latin in Cent. xii under the title *De Fide Orthodoxa*.

[3] Venerable Bede, *c.* 673–735; author of an Ecclesiastical History of England, and numerous other works, chiefly ecclesiastical.

[4] The *Speculum Iudiciale*, commonly known as the *Speculum Iuris*, a treatise on civil and canon law, written *c.* 1270 by Wilhelmus Durandus (1237–96), who subsequently (1286) became Bishop of Mende in Languedoc.

[5] Probably Innocent IV, Pope, 1243–54; he was originally professor of law at Bologna, and was one of the most learned canonists of his time.

[6] 'Him of Ostia', that is, Henry of Susa (Enrico Bartolomei), *c.* 1200–71; he lectured on canon law at Bologna and Paris, and became Cardinal-Bishop of Ostia in 1261, whence he was commonly styled Ostiensis; his most famous work was the *Summa super titulis Decretalium*, otherwise known as *Summa Ostiensis*. Dante refers to him as 'Ostiense' in *Par.* xii. 83.

[7] With this denunciation of the Italian Cardinals for their devotion to the works of the Decretalists in their temporal interests, in preference to the works of the Fathers of the Church, cf. *Par.* ix. 133–5: 'Per questo (the Florentine florin) l' Evangelio e i Dottor magni Son derelitti, e solo ai Decretali Si studia sì che pare ai lor vivagni'.

orbe [a] terrarum.[1] Omnes enim, quae garrio, murmurant, aut mussant [b], aut cogitant, aut somniant [2]; et quae inventa non attestantur.[c] Nonnulli sunt in admiratione suspensi; an semper et hoc [d] silebunt, neque Factori suo testimonium reddent? Vivit Dominus, quia qui movit [e] linguam in asina [f] Balaam,[3] Dominus est etiam modernorum brutorum.

§ 9. Iam garrulus factus sum; vos me coegistis.[4] Pudeat ergo tam ab infra, non de coelo ut vos absolvat [g 5], argui vel moneri. Recte quidem nobiscum agitur [h 6],

[a] MS. *orbem* [b] MS. *musant*; O. omits *aut mussant* [c] O. *somniant. Et qui inventa non attestantur?* [d] O. *et hi* [e] O. *quique movit* [f] MS. *asinam* [g] MS. *ut absoluet*; O. *ut absolvat* [h] MS., O. *agit*

[1] There was only supposed to be one Phoenix; cf. Brunetto Latini, in the *Trésor*: 'Fenix est uns oisiaus en Arrabe dont il n'a plus que un sol en trestout le monde' (i. 164).

[2] On this clausula, see Parodi in *Bull. Soc. Dant. Ital.*, N.S. xix. 270. [3] *Numb.* xxii. 28–30. [4] 2 *Cor.* xii. 11.

[5] The insertion of *vos*, as Parodi points out (*Bull. Soc. Dant. Ital.*, N.S. xix. 270), rectifies the *cursus*, giving the *velox*—'de coélo ut vos absólvat'.

[6] The MS. and all the printed editions read *agit*, but this construes very awkwardly with the *pulsatur* of the next line. I feel very little doubt that Dante wrote not *agit*, but *agitur*; cf. *Epist.* vi. 96: 'Dei iudicio quandoque agi credendum est'. The omission by a careless scribe of the 'tick' (representing *r* superscript) which differentiates *agitur* (*agit*^{r}) from *agit* in MSS. would account for the hitherto accepted reading. The *cursus* would be a form of *tardus* ('nóbiscum ágitur') of which there are numerous instances in Dante's letters; it occurs, for instance, at least ten times in *Epist.* vi (see *Appendix* C, p. 228). For the accentuation 'nóbiscum', cf. *Epist.* v. 145: 'nóbiscum òpinári cogétur'; *V. E.* i. 10, l. 71: 'nóbiscum dissentíre putámus'—a form of clausula (*velox* combined with *planus*) which is common enough in Dante's letters (see *Appendix* C, p. 241). On the other hand 'vobiscum' in l. 49 of the present letter appears to be paroxytone: 'úna vobíscum' (*planus*).

quum ex ea parte pulsatur ad nos, ad quam cum caeteris sensibus inflet auditum, ac pariat pudor in nobis poenitudinem [a], primogenitam suam, et haec [b] propositum emendationis aggeneret.

§ 10. Quod ut gloriosa longanimitas foveat et defendat, Romam urbem, nunc utroque lumine destitutam,[1] nunc Hannibali nedum alii [c] miserandam,[2] solam sedentem et viduam, prout superius proclamatur, qualis est, pro modulo vestrae imaginis ante mentales oculos [d] affigatis oportet.[3] [e] Et ad vos haec sunt maxime, qui sacrum Tiberim [f] parvuli cognovistis.[5] Nam etsi Latiale caput pie cunctis est Italis diligendum, tamquam commune suae civilitatis principium, vestrum [g] iuste

[a] O. *poenitentiam* [b] MS. *hoc* [c] O. *aliis* [d] MS. *oculo* [e] O. *ante mortales oculos affigatis omnes* [f] MS. *tybrum* [g] MS. *uestra*; O. *vestras*

[1] Rome was deprived of her two Suns, the Pope and the Emperor; cf. *Purg.* xvi. 106–8: 'Soleva Roma, che il buon mondo feo, Due Soli aver, che l'una e l'altra strada Facean vedere, e del mondo e di Deo'. The Papal See was vacant through the death of Clement V on April 20, 1314; and the Imperial crown was in dispute, since the death of Henry VII on August 23, 1313, between Louis of Bavaria and Frederick of Austria.

[2] For Petrarch's imitation of this expression, see above, p. 123.

[3] Cf. *Epist.* ii. 30, and note.

[4] Dante generally uses the construction of *oportet* with the infinitive; once (*Mon.* iii. 12, l. 11) he uses it with *quod* and the subjunctive; the present appears to be the only instance of his use of it with the subjunctive alone.

[5] Dante now addresses himself specially to the Roman Cardinals, who were four in number out of the six Italian Cardinals, viz. Napoleone Orsini, Francesco Gaetani, and Jacopo and Pietro Colonna; of the other two, Niccolò degli Albertini was a native of Prato, and Guglielmo de' Longhi a native of Bergamo.

[6] For this use of *vestrum*, cf. Ovid, *Fast.* iv. 889: 'Nulla mora est operae—vestrum est dare, vincere nostrum'.

censetur accuratissime colere ipsum, quum sit vobis 115
155 principium ipsius quoque esse.[a 1] Et si caeteros Italos in praesens miseria dolore confecit et rubore confudit; erubescendum esse vobis, dolendum quis dubitet, qui tantum [b] insolitae sui vel solis eclipsis [2] causa [c] fuistis ?[d 3]

[a] MS. *cum sit uobis principium ciuilitatis esse ipsum quoque* [b] MS. *cam̄*; O. *causa* [c] MS. *cū* [d] O. *qui causa insolitae sui vel solis eclipseos fuistis*

[1] 'If Rome did not exist, you as Cardinals would have no existence.' It is difficult to believe that Dante can have written such a sentence as the MS. reading here ('cum sit uobis principium ciuilitatis esse ipsum quoque'), which is moreover impossible from the point of view of the *cursus*. It is no doubt a case of 'pie', as to which see Moore, *Studies in Dante*, iv. 6, 33. Moore shows how easily a confused sentence like the above may arise—words accidentally omitted by a primitive copyist, and by him (or another) written in the margin, subsequently get inserted in the text, but in the wrong place. The process is analogous to that by which marginal glosses become embodied in the text. The omission of *civilitatis* (which apparently was caught by the copyist from the preceding line), and the substitution of *ipsius* for *ipsum*, are due to Witte. It may be noted that the phrase *ipsius esse*, in the genitive, occurs in *Epist.* x. 398.

[2] The genitive *eclipseos*, which is substituted for the MS. reading *eclipsis* by all the editors except Muzzi, is non-existent in Latin. The regular genitive both in late and in mediaeval Latin was *eclipsis*, which is the only form registered by Giovanni da Genova, whereas he gives the alternative genitives '*-is* vel *-eos*' for other words of Greek origin in *-is*; e.g. *genesis*, *heresis*, *metamorphosis*, *syntaxis*.

[3] For the MS. reading of this sentence, 'qui cām insolite sui uel solis eclipsis cū fuistis', which makes no sense, O. following Witte reads 'qui causa insolitae sui vel solis eclipseos fuistis'. I think it more probable that *cām* is a mistake, not for *cā* (i.e. *causa*), but for *tām* (*c* and *t* being very easily confounded in MSS.), i.e. *tantum*, in the sense of *tam* (cf. *Epist.* ix. 33: 'temeraria tantum'; and see Du Cange, s.v., where he quotes 'tantum lividum' as an instance of 'tantum pro tam'); and that the meaningless *cū* (i.e. *cum*) of

160 Tu [a] prae omnibus, Urse,[1] ne degradati [b 2] collegae [3] 120

[a] MS. *tū* [b] MS. *degrattati*; O. *degratiati*

the MS. before *fuistis*, which O. omits, is a mistake for *cā*, i.e. *causa*. This emendation restores the *cursus*, giving the *planus*, 'caúsa fuístis'. The meaning would be that the removal of the Apostolic See to Avignon was an eclipse not so much of Rome as of the Papacy itself (figured by the Sun, the greater light; cf. *Mon.* iii. 4, ll. 10–21; *Epist.* v. 169–70; *Epist.* vi. 54–5).

[1] 'Filii Ursi' was a regular Latin rendering of the name Orsini, as appears from the *Consulte Fiorentine* (quoted by Del Lungo in *Dal Secolo e dal Poema di Dante*, p. 469), and from the letters of Cola di Rienzo and of Coluccio Salutati; cf. Nicholas III's description of himself in *Inf.* xix. 70 as 'figliuol dell' Orsa', he being a member of the Orsini family. The member of the family here addressed by Dante was the Ghibelline Napoleone degli Orsini del Monte (d. 1342), who had been created a Cardinal by Nicholas IV in 1288. On the death of Boniface VIII in 1303 Napoleone (who, it must be borne in mind, in spite of his name, did not belong to the Orsini faction), together with the Cardinal Niccolò da Prato, as leaders of the Colonna faction, took an active part, as Villani records (viii. 80), in securing the election of the French Pope Clement V in opposition to the Gaetani and Orsini faction, one of the motives being to secure the restoration of the two Colonna Cardinals, Jacopo and Pietro, who had been deprived by Boniface VIII, a matter about which he had since become lukewarm, as appears from Dante's reproaches in this passage. After his bitter experience of the disastrous effects of Clement V's policy, as he himself acknowledges in a letter to Philip the Fair (quoted by Witte), Napoleone was now, in the Conclave at Carpentras, the leader of the opposition to the Gascon party—'capo di quella setta contro a' Guasconi', says Villani (ix. 81)—in the hope of securing the election of an Italian (or pro-Italian) Cardinal (see above, p. 124).

[2] It seems probable that *degradati*, not *degratiati*, as in O., is the correct emendation of the MS. *degrattati*. *Disgratia* and *disgratiatus* are registered by Du Cange, but I can find no instance of *degratiatus*. On the other hand, *degradare* and *degradatio* ('poena ecclesiastica, qua quis suo gradu privatur') are recognized terms, and eminently applicable to the case in point, namely degradation from the cardinalate.

[3] Jacopo and Pietro Colonna, the former (d. 1318) created a

perpetuo [a] [1] remanerent inglorii ; et illi, ut [b] militantis Ecclesiae veneranda insignia,[2] quae forsan non emeriti [c]

[a] MS. $\overset{\circ}{pp}$; O. *propter te* [b] O. *et ut illi* [c] MS. *emerit*

Cardinal in 1278 by Nicholas III, the latter (d. 1326) by Nicholas IV in 1288, had been deprived in 1297 by Boniface VIII as an incident in his contest with their house, which culminated in his capture at Anagni in 1303 by Sciarra Colonna, the uncle of the two Cardinals ; Clement V had restored them to their dignity, but *sine titulo*, in Dec. 1305, apparently at the time of his first creation of Cardinals (Dec. 15). In a Bull of Clement's addressed from Lyons on Jan. 2, 1306, 'Dil. filio Iacobo de Columpna Sancte Romane ecclesie diacono cardinali', Jacopo is referred to as 'tu per nos reassumptus ad cardinalatus statum'.

[1] The abbreviation in the MS. might stand for *populo*, or *proprio*, or *propositio*, of which the first alone would make any sense here, and that not very satisfactory. I think it probable that Dante wrote *perpetuo*, and that the present reading of the MS. is a corruption due to a careless or ignorant copyist. This conjecture is confirmed by the language of Boniface VIII in his Bull of deprivation (May 10, 1297), in which he says : 'prefatos Iacobum Sancte Marie in Via Lata et Petrum Sancti Eustachii diaconos cardinales . . . a cardinalatibus ipsis Sancte Romane Ecclesie et predictarum ecclesiarum deponimus ; omnibus cardinalatus seu cardinalatuum iuribus, comodis, utilitatibus, honoribus, proventibus, fructibus, redditibus, obventionibus et quibuscumque ad cardinalatum vel cardinalatus ipsos spectantibus privamus *perpetuo* . . . reddentes ipsos et unumquemque ipsorum *perpetuo* inhabiles ad apicem apostolice dignitatis et cardinalatus honorem seu statum . . .' (see *Registres de Boniface VIII : Lettres curiales*, No. 2388, ed. Digard, Faucon et Thomas, Paris, 1884 ff.). I have consequently ventured to adopt *perpetuo* in the text.

[2] Cf. *Epist.* vii. 16–17 : 'veneranda signa Tarpeia' (of the Imperial ensign). There is perhaps a reference here to the proclamation of Boniface VIII of May 23, 1297, in which Jacopo and Pietro Colonna are forbidden to use the style and insignia of Cardinal—'cardinales se nominare et cardinalitia portare insignia annulis et rubeis capellis utentes' (see Potthast, *Regesta Romanorum Pontificum*, No. 24519).

sed immeriti coacti [a] posuerant, Apostolici Culminis [1]
auctoritate resumerent [b]. Tu quoque, Transtiberinae
sectator [c] factionis [d] alterius,[2] ut ira defuncti Antistitis [3]
in te velut ramus insitionis in trunco non suo frondesce-
ret, quasi [e] triumphatam Carthaginem nondum exueras,
illustrium Scipionum patriae potuisti hunc animum sine
ulla tui iudicii contradictione praeferre? [f 4]

§ 11. Emendabitur quidem (quamquam non sit quin
nota cicatrix infamis Apostolicam Sedem, usque ad ignem
cui coeli qui [g] nunc sunt et terra sunt reservati,[5] detur-

[a] MS. *cũti* [b] MS. *resumeret* [c] MS. *septator* [d] MS. *sanctionis*
[e] MS. *Quod si* [f] O. *praeferre.* [g] MS. *quod*

[1] Cf. 'vestrum Culmen', applied to the Empress in *Epist.* vii**.

[2] 'The Transteverine faction' was the party of the Guelfs, and included the Orsini and Gaetani, as opposed to the Ghibelline party, with whom the Colonnesi were identified, and whose headquarters were on the left bank of the Tiber (see Torraca, in *Bull. Soc. Dant. Ital.*, N.S. xvii. 175). The individual here in question was Francesco Gaetani, nephew of Boniface VIII, by whom he was made a Cardinal in 1295; he was a staunch supporter of Boniface in his contest with the Colonnesi, and after the death of the former continued to carry out his policy.

[3] Namely, Boniface VIII (see previous note).

[4] That is, 'as though thou wert at heart a foe to Rome', Carthage having been the secular enemy of Rome. The 'illustrious Scipios' specially indicated would be Publius Cornelius Scipio Africanus Major, 234–c. 183 B. C., the conqueror of Hannibal at the battle of Zama, 202 B.C. (cf. *Inf.* xxxi. 115–17; *Par.* xxvii. 61–2; *Conv.* iv. 15, ll. 170–1; *Mon.* ii. 11, ll. 59–61); and his grandson by adoption, Publius Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus Africanus Minor, c. 185–129 B. C., by whom Carthage was taken and destroyed 146 B.C.

[5] I am indebted to Dr. Heberden for pointing out that the MS. reading of this passage (except for the blunder of *quod* for *qui*) stands in need of no emendation, Dante evidently having had in mind 2 *Peter* iii. 7: 'Coeli autem qui nunc sunt, et terra . . . igni reservati in diem iudicii'.

pet),[a] si [b] unanimes omnes qui huiusmodi exorbitationis fuistis auctores, pro Sponsa Christi, pro sede Sponsae, quae Roma est, pro Italia nostra, et ut plenius dicam, pro tota civitate peregrinante [c] in terris [1], viriliter propugnetis [d], ut de palaestra iam coepti certaminis,[2] undique ab Oceani margine circumspecta,[3] vosmetipsos cum gloria offerentes, audire possitis: 'Gloria in excelsis'[4]; et ut Vasconum opprobrium, qui tam dira cupidine conflagrantes Latinorum gloriam sibi usurpare contendunt, per [e] saecula cuncta futura sit posteris in exemplum.[5]

[a] O. *quamquam non sit quin nota cicatrixque infamis Apostolicam Sedem usserit ad ignem, et cui coeli et terra sunt reservati, deturpet* [b] MS. *Sin* [c] MS. *peregrinate*; O. *peregrinantium* [d] MS. *propungniatis* [e] MS. *pro*

[1] *Heb.* xi. 13.

[2] This reference to 'the contest that is already begun' makes it probable that the letter was written in the early days of the Conclave (see above, p. 126).

[3] Moore suggests (*Studies in Dante*, iii. 114, n. 5) that the real reading here may be *circumsepta*, as Dante's words seem to be an echo of the phrase of Orosius: 'orbem totius terrae, oceani limbo circumseptum' (i. 2, § 1).

[4] *Luke* xix. 38.

[5] Dante may have had in mind here the words of Boniface VIII in the Bull of May 10, 1297, already quoted, where he says: 'sicut deficit fumus deficiant, et sicut fluit cera a facie ignis sic pereant peccatores in malo, exultent iusti in conspectu Dei et in letitia delectentur, habentibus virtute premium et culpa supplicium transiens *posteris in exemplum*, ex ore sedentis in trono procedente gladio bis acuto' (*Registres de Boniface VIII*, No. 2388). By the irony of fate the successor of Clement V was yet another French Pope, John XXII, a native of Cahors, who is coupled with Clement in Dante's denunciation (by the mouth of St. Peter) of their avarice and extortions in *Par.* xxvii. 58–9.

TRANSLATION

[*To the Italian Cardinals Dante of Florence, &c.*]

§ 1. 'How doth the city sit solitary that was full of people! She is become as a widow that was great among the nations.' The greed aforetime of the chiefs of the Pharisees, which made the ancient priesthood an abomination, not only did away the ministry of the children of Levi, but moreover brought siege and destruction on the chosen city of David. And when He, who alone is eternal, beheld this thing from his eternal watch-tower on high, by his Holy Spirit He laid his command upon the mind worthy of God of a man that was a prophet, and in the words above written, alas! too often repeated, lamented over holy Jerusalem as a city undone.

§ 2. We too who confess the same Father and Son, the same God and Man, yea, the same Mother and Virgin, we for whose sake and for whose salvation thrice was the question repeated concerning love and it was said: 'Peter, feed my sheep', that is to say the sacred fold, Rome, to which, after so many triumphs and glories, Christ by word and deed confirmed the empire of the world, that Rome which the same Peter, and Paul the preacher to the Gentiles, by the sprinkling of their own blood consecrated as the Apostolic See, over her, widowed and abandoned, we, who come not after the woes we have to bewail, but now mourn in consequence of them, are, like Jeremiah, constrained to lament.

§ 3. It grieves us, alas! no less to witness the lamentable plague of heresies, than that the fomenters of impiety, Jews, Saracens, and Gentiles, make a mock of our Sabbaths, and, as is said, cry out 'Where is their God?' and that perchance the renegade Powers ascribe this to their own wiles against the protecting Angels. And, more horrible still, certain readers of the stars and ignorant prophets declare that to be of necessity, which you, making ill use of your freedom of will, have preferred of your own choice.

§ 4. But you, who are as it were the centurions of the

front rank of the Church militant, neglecting to guide the chariot of the Spouse of the Crucified along the track which lay before you, have gone astray from the track, no otherwise than as the false charioteer Phaëthon. And you, whose duty it was to enlighten the flock that follows you through the forest on its pilgrimage here below, have brought it along with yourselves to the verge of the precipice. Nor do I recount examples for your imitation, seeing that you turn your backs, not your faces, to the car of the Spouse, and verily might be likened to them that were shown to the prophet with their backs turned towards the temple; you who scorn the fire sent down from heaven upon the altars, which now are alight with strange fire; you who sell doves in the temple where that which cannot be measured by price is made merchandise to the hurt of them that come and go therein. But give heed to the scourge, give heed to the fire; and make not light of the patience of Him who awaits your repentance. But if you doubt as to the precipice whereof I have spoken, what else can I answer to enlighten you but that like Demetrius you have consented unto Alcimus?

§ 5. Perchance in indignant rebuke you will ask: 'And who is this man who, not fearing the sudden punishment of Uzzah, sets himself up to protect the Ark, tottering though it be?' Verily I am one of the least of the sheep of the pasture of Jesus Christ; verily I abuse no pastoral authority, seeing that I possess no riches. By the grace, therefore, not of riches, but of God, I am what I am, and the zeal of His house hath eaten me up. For even from the mouth of babes and sucklings has been heard the truth well pleasing to God; and he who was born blind confessed the truth, which the Pharisees not only concealed, but in their malice even strove to pervert. These are the justification for my boldness. And besides these I have the authority of the Philosopher, who in his system of morals taught that truth is to be preferred even before friendship. Nor does the presumption of Uzzah, which some may think should be laid to my charge, infect me, as though I had been rash in my utterance, with the

taint of his guilt. For he gave heed to the Ark, I to the unruly oxen that are dragging it away into the wilderness. May He give succour to the Ark, who opened his eyes to bring salvation to the labouring ship!

§ 6. It seems then that I have provoked no one to railing; but rather that I have kindled the blush of confusion in you and in others, chief-priests in name only (if so be that shame has not been wholly rooted out throughout the world), since among so many who usurp the office of shepherd, among so many sheep who, if not driven away, at least are neglected and left untended in the pastures, one voice alone, one alone of filial piety, and that of a private individual, is heard at the obsequies as it were of Mother Church.

§ 7. And what wonder? Each one has taken avarice to wife, even as you yourselves have done; avarice, the mother never of piety and righteousness, but ever of impiety and unrighteousness. Ah! most loving Mother, Spouse of Christ, that by water and the spirit bearest sons unto thy shame! Not charity, not Astraea, but the daughters of the horseleech have become thy daughters-in-law. And what offspring they bear thee all save the Bishop of Luni bear witness. Your Gregory lies among the cobwebs; Ambrose lies forgotten in the cupboards of the clergy, and Augustine along with him; and Dionysius, Damascenus, and Bede; and they cry up instead I know not what *Speculum*, and Innocent, and him of Ostia. And why not? Those sought after God as their end and highest good; these get for themselves riches and benefices.

§ 8. But, my Fathers, suppose not that I am a phoenix in the wide world. For every one is murmuring, or muttering, or thinking, or dreaming, what I cry aloud; but they do not testify to what they have seen. Some there are who remain lost in wonder; but will they for ever hold their peace, nor bear witness to their Maker? The Lord liveth, for He who moved the tongue of Balaam's ass, He is the Lord also of the brutes of to-day.

§ 9. Now am I constrained to lift up my voice: ye have compelled me. Be ye therefore ashamed to receive

rebuke and admonishment from so lowly a source, and not from Heaven, which may pardon you. In the right fashion indeed are we dealt with when we are smitten on that side by which shame can reach our hearing as well as the rest of our senses, and beget in us repentance, her first-born, who in turn shall give birth to purpose of amendment.

§ 10. And that a glorious patience may foster and maintain this purpose, it behoves you to keep before the eyes of your mind, according to the measure of your imagination, the present condition of the city of Rome, a sight to move the pity even of Hannibal, not to say others, bereft as she now is of the one and the other of her luminaries, and sitting solitary and widowed, as is written above. And this most chiefly is the concern of you who have known sacred Tiber as little children. For although it is the duty of all Italians to love the capital of Italy as the common source of their civility, yet is it justly held to be your part most especially to reverence it, since for you it is the source also of your very being. And if at the present time misery has consumed with grief and confounded with shame the rest of the inhabitants of Italy, who can doubt but that you must blush with shame, and must grieve, who have been the cause of so unwonted an eclipse of Rome or rather of her Sun? Thou above all, Orsini, that thy colleagues who have been degraded should not continue for ever stripped of their glory; and they, that by the authority of the Apostolic Head they should resume the venerable insignia of the Church Militant, which, not as perchance having completed their service, but undeservedly, they were compelled to lay down. Thou also, the adherent of the other Transteverine faction, in order that the wrath of the deceased pontiff might put forth leaves in thee, like a branch engrafted on a trunk not its own, as if thou hadst not yet put off the Carthage that was conquered of old, couldst thou, without the reproof of thy better judgement, prefer this purpose before the country of the illustrious Scipios?

§ 11. There will be amendment, however (although it cannot be but that the scar of infamy will disfigure with its mark the Apostolic See even until the fire for which the heavens that now are and the earth have been reserved), if you all, who were the authors of this deviation from the track, with one accord shall fight manfully for the Spouse of Christ, for the seat of the Spouse, which is Rome, for our Italy, and, to speak more at large, for the whole body politic now in pilgrimage on earth, so that from the wrestling-ground (surveyed on every side from the shores of ocean) of the contest that is already begun, offering yourselves with glory, you may be able to hear 'Glory in the highest', and that the reproach of the Gascons, who, burning with abominable lust, strive to usurp for themselves the glory of the Italians, may be an example to posterity for all ages to come.

EPISTOLA IX

('*In literis vestris*')

To a Friend in Florence

[May, 1315]

MSS.—This letter, like the preceding and that to a Pistojan Exile (*Epist.* iii (iv)), has been preserved only in the Laurentian MS. (*Cod. xxix. 8*); like them it is in the handwriting of Boccaccio, by whom it was transcribed probably about the year 1348.[1]

Printed Texts.[2]—1. G. J. Dionisi (1790): in *Serie di Aneddoti* (Verona, 1790; vol. v, pp. 176–7). 2. Dionisi (1806): (emended text) in *Preparazione istorica e critica alla nuova edizione di Dante Allighieri* (Verona, 1806; vol. i, pp. 71–3). 3. F. Cancellieri (1814): in *Osservazioni sopra l'Originalità della Divina Commedia di Dante* (Rome, 1814; pp. 59–60). 4. F. De Romanis (1817): in notes to Tiraboschi's *Vita di Dante*, in *Divina Commedia di Dante Alighieri* (Roma, 1815–17; vol. iv, pp. 46–7).[3] 5. Ugo Foscolo (1818): in article on Cancellieri's *Osservazioni*, in *Edinburgh Review* (Sept. 1818; pp. 350–1). 6. Ugo Foscolo (1823): in *Essays on Petrarch* (London, 1823; pp. 276–7). 7. G. Pelli (1823): in *Memorie per servire alla Vita di Dante* (Firenze, 1823; p. 204). 8. Witte (1827): *Epist.* viii (*op. cit.*, pp. 65–6). 9. Fraticelli (1840): *Epist.* v (*op. cit.*, pp. 282–6). 10. Torri (1842): *Epist.* xiii (*op. cit.*, pp. 96–8). 11. Muzzi (1845): *Epist.* iii, in *Tre Epistole Latine di Dante Allighieri restituite a più vera lezione* (Prato, 1845; pp. 23–5).

[1] See introductory note to *Epist.* iii (iv) (p. 19).

[2] For titles of editions referred to here as already quoted, see above, pp. 1–2.

[3] For other editions of the *Commedia* in which the letter is printed, see Koch, *Catalogue of the Cornell Dante Collection*, vol. i, p. 57.

12. Fraticelli (1857): *Epist.* x (*op. cit.*, pp. 524–6).[1] 13. Giuliani (1882): *Epist.* ix (*op. cit.*, pp. 32–3).[2] 14. Bartoli (1884): in *Storia della Letteratura Italiana* (vol. v, pp. 288–9). 15. Scartazzini (1890): in *Prolegomeni della Divina Commedia* (pp. 133–4). 16. Moore (1894): *Epist.* ix (*op. cit.*, pp. 413–14). 17. Della Torre (1905): (diplomatic transcript of the MS. text) in *Bullettino della Società Dantesca Italiana* (N.S. xii. 122–3). 18. Passerini (1910): *Epist.* ix (*op. cit.*, pp. 96–100). 19. Paget Toynbee (1916): (diplomatic transcript of the MS. text, together with collations of the various readings of the printed editions of the letter, and a list of proposed emendations in the Oxford text) in *Modern Language Review* (vol. xi, pp. 62–6). 20. Paget Toynbee (1916): (emended text) in *Modern Language Review* (vol. xi, pp. 66–7). 21. E. Pistelli (1915): (revised text, with notes) in *Piccola Antologia della Bibbia Volgata . . . con alcune Epistole di Dante* . . . (Firenze, 1915; pp. 219–21). 22. [Della Torre] (1917): *Epist.* xvi (*op. cit.*, pp. 282–4).

TRANSLATIONS.[3]—*Italian.* 1. Dionisi (1790): *op. cit.*, pp. 177–8. 2. Dionisi (1806): (revised trans.) *op. cit.*, pp. 73–5. 3. C. Ugoni (1825): in *Saggi sopra il Petrarca* (translation of Foscolo's *Essays on Petrarch*) (Firenze, 1825; pp. 184–6). 4. Balbo (1839): *op. cit.*, pp. 386–7. 5. Fraticelli (1840): *op. cit.*, pp. 283–7. 6. Ugoni (1842): (revised trans.) in Torri, *op. cit.*, pp. 97–9. 7. Muzzi (1845): *op. cit.*, pp. 34–5. 8. Fraticelli (1857): (revised trans.) *op. cit.*, pp. 525–7. 9. Giuliani (1882): (§§ 2–4 only) *op. cit.*, p. 167. 10. N. Zingarelli (1903): in *Dante* (Milano, 1903; pp. 298–9). 11. Passerini (1910): *op. cit.*, pp. 97–101. 12. Scherillo (1918): (extracts) *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 182.—*English.* 1. Ugo Foscolo (1818): in *Edinburgh Review*

[1] The principal divergences of Fraticelli's text from that of the MS. were registered by Zenatti, in *Dante e Firenze* (p. 532).

[2] The divergences of Giuliani's text from that of the MS. were registered by G. Mazzoni, in the *Bullettino della Società Dantesca Italiana*, N.S. v. 98, n. 1.

[3] For titles of editions referred to here as already quoted, see above, and p. 2.

(Sept. 1818; p. 350). 2. Foscolo (1823): (revised trans.) in *Essays on Petrarch*, pp. 202–3.[1] 3. J. Montgomery (1835): (§§ 3–4) in *Life of Dante*, in Lardner's *Cabinet Cyclopaedia* (*Biography*) (London, 1835; vol. i, p. 31). 4. I. C. Wright (1845): (§§ 3–4) in *Memoir of Dante*, in translation of the *Divina Commedia* (London, 1845; vol. i, pp. xiii–xiv). 5. F. J. Bunbury (1852): in *Life and Times of Dante Alighieri* (London, 1852; vol. ii, pp. 215–17). 6. R. de Vericour (1858): in *Life and Times of Dante* (London, 1858; pp. 182–4). 7. Anonymous (1858): in *Eclectic Review* (Dec. 1858; vol. iv, N. S., pp. 496–7). 8. J. R. Lowell (1859): (§§ 3–4) in article on Dante in Appleton's *New American Cyclopaedia*, reprinted in *Fifth Annual Report of the Cambridge* (*U.S.A.*) *Dante Society*, 1886, p. 22. 9. V. Botta (1865): in *Dante as a Philosopher, Patriot and Poet* (New York, 1865; London, 1887; pp. 106–7). 10. M. F. Rossetti (1871)[2]: (§§ 3–4) in *A Shadow of Dante* (London, 1871; ed. 1872, p. 29). 11. M. Creighton (1873): (§§ 3–4) in *Macmillan's Magazine*, vol. xxix (1873), reprinted in *Historical Essays and Reviews* (London, 1902; p. 21). 12. M. Oliphant (1876): (§§ 3–4) in *Makers of Florence* (London, 1876; ed. 1885, pp. 88–9). 13. Latham (1891): *op. cit.*, pp. 184–6. 14. Wicksteed (1898): in *A Provisional Translation of Dante's Political Letters* (pp. 29–30). 15. J. F. Hogan (1899): (§§ 3–4) in *Life and Works of Dante Allighieri* (London, 1899; p. 49). 16. Wicksteed (1904): (revised trans.) in *Translation of the Latin Works of Dante Alighieri* (pp. 340–1). 17. Paget Toynbee (1916): in *Modern Language Review*, vol. xi, pp. 67–8 (*see below*, pp. 158–9).—*German.* 1. Kannegiesser (1845): *op. cit.*, pp. 208–9. 2. Scartazzini (1879): in *Dante Alighieri, seine Zeit, sein Leben und seine Werke* (pp. 419–20). 3. Wegele (1879): in *Dante Alighieri's Leben und Werke* (pp. 275–6).—*French.* Comtesse Horace de Choiseul (1911): (§§ 2–4) in *Dante: Le Purgatoire* (Paris, 1911; pp. vi–vii).

[1] For reprints of Foscolo's translation, see Koch, *op. cit.*, p. 75.

[2] D. G. Rossetti embodied a poetical paraphrase of §§ 3–4 of the letter in his poem *Dante at Verona* (in *Poems*, ed. 1870, pp. 100–1).

AUTHENTICITY.—The authenticity of this letter, which was regarded at one time, if not as an undoubted forgery, at any rate with grave suspicion,[1] is now generally accepted.[2] The letter was utilized by Boccaccio in his *Vita di Dante* (which was written about the year 1357, some nine years after he had transcribed the letter in the MS. mentioned above[3]), in the chapter headed *Qualità e Difetti di Dante*:

'Fu il nostro poeta, oltra alle cose predette, di animo alto e disdegnoso molto; tanto che cercandosi per alcuno suo amico il quale a istanza de' suoi prieghi il faceva, ch' egli potesse ritornare in Firenze (il che egli oltre ad ogni altra cosa sommamente desiderava) nè trovandosi a ciò alcun modo con coloro li quali il governo della republica allora aveano nelle mani, se non uno, il quale era questo, che egli per certo spazio stesse in prigione, e dopo quello in alcuna solennità publica fosse misericordievolemente alla nostra principale chiesa offerto, e per conseguente libero e fuori d' ogni condennagione per adrieto fatta di lui; la qual cosa parendogli convenirsi e usarsi in qualunche è depressi e non infami uomini e non in altri, perchè oltre al suo maggiore desiderio, preelesse di stare in esilio, anzi che per cotal via tornare in casa sua. O isdegno laudevole di magnanimo, quanto virilmente operasti riprimendo l' ardente disio del ritornare per via meno che degna a uomo nel grembo della filosofia notricato!'[4]

[1] For instance, Scartazzini in his *Prolegomeni della Divina Commedia* describes it as 'veementemente sospetta' (p. 138). For a refutation of Scartazzini's arguments, see Mazzoni, in *Bull. Soc. Dant. Ital.*, N.S. v. 98–100; Torraca, *Nuove Rassegne*, pp. 263–9; and especially the exhaustive article of Della Torre, in *Bull. Soc. Dant. Ital.*, N.S. xii. 121 ff.

[2] See Barbi, in *Bull. Soc. Dant. Ital.*, N.S. xi. 29. [3] See p. 19.

[4] Ed. Macrì-Leone, § 12. In the so-called *Compendio*, which Barbi has proved to be a revised version of the *Vita*, due to Boccaccio himself (see his article in *Studii su Giovanni Boccaccio*, Castelfiorentino, 1913, pp. 101–41), the account is much briefer: 'Fu adunque il nostro Poeta, oltre alle cose di sopra dette, d' animo altiero e disdegnoso molto, tanto che cercandosi per alcuno amico come egli potesse in Firenze tornare, nè altro modo trovandosi, se non che egli per alcuno spazio di tempo stato in prigione, fosse misericordievolmente offerto a San Giovanni, fu per lui a ciò, ogni fervente disio del ritornare calcato, risposto, che Iddio togliesse

DATE.—The date of the letter is fixed approximately by Dante's reference to his having been in exile for nearly fifteen years ('per trilustrium fere perpessus exilium', l. 29). The first sentence of banishment issued by Cante de' Gabrielli, the then Podestà, was dated Jan. 27, 1302; and the second was on March 10 of the same year; so that the *terminus ad quem* would be the beginning of 1317. Until recently it was supposed that the amnesty referred to in the letter was that of June 2, 1316. But it has been shown by Barbi that all the exiles condemned by Cante de' Gabrielli were expressly excluded from this amnesty, Dante consequently among them.[1] The amnesties of Sept. 3 and Dec. 11, 1316, are equally out of the question, in that they were not general amnesties, but only extended to certain specified persons, among whom Dante was not included.[2] It is concluded, therefore, that the amnesty in question in the letter is that of May 19, 1315, in the terms of which Dante would be implicitly included.[3] The letter, then, was probably written towards the end of May, 1315.[4]

ADDRESSEE.—It appears from ll. 13–14 of the letter that Dante and his correspondent were relatives, as they had a nephew in common; further, from the fact that Dante twice addresses him as 'Pater' (ll. 22, 41), and speaks of having received his letter 'with due reverence' (ll. 1–2), it has been

via, che alcuno che nel seno della filosofia allevato e cresciuto fosse, divenisse candelotto del suo comune' (ed. Rostagno, § 22).

[1] See *Bull. Soc. Dant. Ital.*, N.S. ii. 16–17, where the terms of the 'ribandimento' of June 2, 1316, are quoted, among those excluded being 'omnes et singuli qui quacumque de causa per dominum Cantem de Gabriellibus de Eugubio, olim potestatem Florentie, vel eius vicarium, fuerunt condempnati et exbanniti seu condempnati tantum aut exbanniti infra tempus infrascriptum, videlicet a kallendis novembris sub anno Domini millesimo trecentesimo primo usque ad kallendas Iulii tunc subsequentis sub anno Domini millesimo trecentesimo secundo'.

[2] See Barbi, *loc. cit.*, p. 17.

[3] See Barbi, in *Bull. Soc. Dant. Ital.*, N.S. xi. 26 ff.

[4] See Della Torre, in *Bull. Soc. Dant. Ital.*, N.S. xii. 150 ff.

concluded that the addressee was a priest. These considerations have led to the conjectural identification of the addressee with a brother-in-law of Dante, namely Teruccio di Manetto Donati,[1] a brother of Gemma, Dante's wife, who was a member of a religious order and a bachelor of divinity. Their common nephew in that case would be Niccolò Donati, son of Foresino (or Forese) di Manetto Donati, another brother of Gemma's.[2]

SUMMARY.—§ 1. Dante acknowledges receipt of his correspondent's letter, and expresses his gratitude for the interest he has shown in his recall from exile; and he begs that his reply may not be hastily judged. § 2. He understands from letters received from a common nephew and from other friends that he will be allowed to return to Florence on certain degrading conditions. § 3. Is this then the gracious recall that he, an innocent man, was to look for after all these years of exile? Far be it from him to accept such terms! § 4. If he may return to Florence on honourable conditions, well and good—if not, then he will never return. Assuredly he will find means to pursue his studies and win his bread elsewhere, without being obliged to render himself an object of contempt in the eyes of his fellow-citizens!

[*Amico Florentino.*][a]

§ 1. In literis vestris, et reverentia debita et affectione receptis, quam repatriatio mea curae sit vobis et [b] animo, grata mente ac diligenti animadversione [c] concepi; et inde tanto me districtius obligastis, quanto rarius exules invenire amicos contingit. Ad illarum vero significata

MS. = *Cod. Laurent.* xxix. 8 O. = *Oxford Dante*

[a] There is no title in MS.; O. prints title without brackets
[b] O. *ex* [c] MS. *animauersione*

[1] See Imbriani, *Studi Danteschi*, p. 410.

[2] See Della Torre, in *Bull. Soc. Dant. Ital.*, N.S. xii. 157–60; and Imbriani, *op. cit.*, p. 410, n. 4.

responsio, etsi non erit [a] qualem [b] forsan pusillanimitas appeteret aliquorum, ut sub examine vestri consilii ante iudicium ventiletur, affectuose deposco.

§ 2. Ecce igitur quod per literas vestri meique nepotis,[1] nec non aliorum quamplurium amicorum, significatum est mihi per ordinamentum nuper factum Florentiae super absolutione bannitorum [2]: quod si solvere vellem certam pecuniae quantitatem,[3] vellemque pati notam oblationis,[4]

[a] MS. *erat* [b] O. *Ad illarum vero significata respondeo; et si responsio non erit qualiter*

[1] This nephew, as stated above in the introductory note, was perhaps Niccolò di Foresino di Manetto Donati, the son of a brother of Dante's wife Gemma. He was an adult at this time, for he took part in the battle of Montecatini (Aug. 29, 1315); he is known to have been in intimate relations with Dante's family, and there is reason to believe that his aunt Gemma, Dante's widow, died in his house (see Della Torre, *Bull. Soc. Dant. Ital.*, N.S. xii. 158–9).

[2] That is, the amnesty of May 19, 1315 (see note on date above).

[3] On the probable amount of this fine, see *Bull. Soc. Dant. Ital.*, N.S. xi. 26, and xii. 154–5.

[4] The *oblatio* (or 'offering') was a ceremony which had to be performed by malefactors, or political offenders after condemnation, as a condition of pardon. If a malefactor, he was conducted from the prison where he had been confined, clothed in sack-cloth, with a mitre on his head, and a candle in his hand, to the Baptistery of San Giovanni, where he was solemnly offered by an approved sponsor at the altar to God and to the Baptist. An individual who had been condemned for a political offence, if not actually a prisoner, was obliged to constitute himself one technically by crossing the threshold of a prison, whence he was conducted to the Baptistery; but the wearing a mitre and other degrading conditions were usually dispensed with in such a case. Cf. the following extract from the *Provvisione* of June 2, 1316: 'possint eisque liceat intrari in carceribus Stincharum seu Vollognani aut in quocumque alio carcere dicti Comunis Florentie, et postquam fuerint in claustro seu intra muros circumdantes aliquem ipsorum carcerum, non obstante eo quod ipsi non scribantur per notarium

et absolvi[1] possem et redire ad praesens. In qua[a 2] quidem duo[3] ridenda et male praeconsiliata sunt, Pater[4]; dico male praeconsiliata per illos qui talia expresserunt,

[a] O. *quo*

qui scribere debet carceratos qui in dictis carceribus consignantur; et post modum ad voluntatem et beneplacitum eorum et cuiuslibet eorum exire possint seu extrahantur relaxentur et liberentur per superstites aut illum vel illos qui ad custodiam ipsorum carcerum seu alicuius eorum quomodolibet deputati essent licite et impune et sine aliquo eorum preiudicio et gravamine de carceribus et a carceribus antedictis; et subsequenter a loco ipsorum carcerum usque ad ecclesiam beati Iohannis ducantur, seu ire possint, absque aliqua mitera seu miteris in capite vel aliter quomodocumque habendis et defferendis; ibidemque apud altare ipsius ecclesie beati Iohannis per quamcumque personam seu personas eisdem vel alicui eorum placuerit Deo et beato Iohanni pro Comuni Florentie offerantur et offerri possint et debeant, et per modum et viam oblationis eximantur relaxentur liberentur et absolvantur' (quoted by Barbi, in *Bull. Soc. Dant. Ital.*, N.S. xi. 29 n.)—see also Zenatti, *Dante e Firenze*, pp. 509, n. 1, 512–14; and *Consulte Fiorentine* for March 22, 1289, and April 3, 1292 (ed. Gherardi, vol. i, p. 386; vol. ii, p. 175). The mitre appears to have been of paper, and to have had the name of the delinquent and his crime inscribed upon it. Du Cange (s. v. *mitra*) quotes the following from the statutes of the city of Mantua: 'Falsum committens . . . mitretur cum mitra papiri, in qua sit scriptum nomen et praenomen ipsius mitrati, et cognomen et agnomen, et causa qua sit mitratus, et per totam civitatem Mantuae ducatur per loca publica dictae civitatis . . .'

[1] The technical word—see the *Provvisione* of June 2, 1316, quoted in the previous note (*ad fin.*): 'per modum et viam oblationis eximantur relaxentur liberentur et absolvantur'; cf. also the *Provvisione* of Sept. 28, 1300, quoted by Zenatti (*op. cit.*, p. 510 n.), and that of Feb. 10, 1309 (relating to the father of Petrarca): 'eximatur liberetur et absolvatur, et eximi liberari et absolvi possit et debeat per viam et modum oblationis' (*op. cit.*, p. 513).

[2] That is, 'absolutione bannitorum', as Della Torre observes.

[3] That is, the payment of a fine, and the presentation at the *oblatio*, as appears from ll. 32–9.

[4] See introductory note on the addressee of the letter.

nam vestrae literae discretius et consultius clausulatae nihil de talibus continebant.

§ 3. Estne ista revocatio gratiosa[a 1], qua Dantes Alagherii[b] revocatur ad patriam, per trilustrium fere perpessus exilium?[2] Hocne meruit innocentia manifesta quibuslibet? Hoc sudor et labor continuatus in studio? Absit a viro philosophiae domestico temeraria tantum[c 3] cordis humilitas, ut more cuiusdam Cioli[4] et

[a] O. *gloriosa* [b] MS. *allagherii*; O. *Alighierius* [c] O. *terreni*

[1] The MS. reading *grosa* can only stand for *gratiosa*; not for *gloriosa* (with Dionisi, &c., followed by O.), which would be *glosa* in MS.; nor for *generosa* (with Muzzi and Della Torre), which would be *gnosa*. (See my note on *A misreading in Dante's Letter to a Friend in Florence*, in *Bull. Soc. Dant. Ital.*, N.S. xx, pp. 58–9.)

[2] This reference approximately fixes the date of the letter, Dante having been sentenced at the beginning of 1302 (see introductory note on date).

[3] The MS. reading is in a sense indeterminate, as it may stand for either *tm*, or *tni*, or *tin*. The last is out of the question here. The second, in order to represent *terreni* (the reading of Dionisi, &c., followed by O.), should have a loop after the *t*, which, however, might have been accidentally omitted by the scribe. The normal solution of *tm* is *tantum*, which word seems to be required by the construction as the correlative of the *ut* of l. 34. For *tantum* in the sense of *tam*, see note on *Epist.* viii. 158.

[4] This 'Ciolus' has been identified with Ciolo degli Abati, who was condemned in 1291, and presented at the *oblatio* in or before 1295. This same Ciolo, alone of his house, was expressly excepted by name ('omnes de domo de Abbatibus, excepto Ciolo') from the decree of Sept. 2, 1311, known as the 'Riforma di messer Baldo d'Aguglione', issued against the contumacious exiles, of whom Dante was one. He is known to have been alive in July, 1313, two years before the presumed date of this letter. His misdeeds appear to have become proverbial in Florence. (See Della Torre, in *Bull. Soc. Dant. Ital.*, N.S. xii. 162–72; and Del Lungo, *Dell' Esilio di Dante*, p. 137; and *Dino Compagni e la sua Cronica*, iii. 289, n. 24.)

aliorum infamium, quasi vinctus[a 1] ipse se patiatur offerri![2] Absit a viro praedicante iustitiam ut perpessus iniurias, iniuriam inferentibus, velut benemerentibus, pecuniam suam solvat!

§ 4. Non est haec via redeundi ad patriam, Pater mi; sed si alia per vos antecedenter[b 3], deinde per alios invenitur, quae famae Dantisque[c] honori non deroget,

[a] MS., O. *victus* [b] MS. *autem*; O. *aut* [c] O. *Dantis atque*

[1] The MS. reading *victus* may not improbably, by the accidental omission of the stroke over the *i* (representing *n*), be a copyist's error for *vinctus*, the sense of which ('like a prisoner in bonds') is much more appropriate to the context than that of *victus* (which would imply rather a prisoner of war); the point being that the person who was presented at the *oblatio*, as a preliminary to being pardoned, was either actually or technically a prisoner (see note on *oblatio*, p. 154, n. 4).

[2] This again, like *absolvi* in l. 21, is the technical word; cf. the extract from the *Provvisione* of June 2, 1316, quoted in note on *oblatio*: 'Deo et beato Iohanni pro Comuni Florentie offerantur et offerri possint et debeant'; and that of Feb. 10, 1309, quoted by Zenatti (*op. cit.*, p. 514): 'Deo et B. Iohanni pro Com. Florent. offeratur et offerri possit et debeat'.

[3] The MS. reading is *aut*, with a stroke over it, which is the normal abbreviation of *autem*; but as *autem* cannot possibly be the correct reading, the early editors one and all substituted *aut*. As *u* and *n* are almost indistinguishable in MSS., Della Torre proposes to read *ante*, which is adopted in the text by Passerini and Pistelli; but the recognized abbreviation of *ante* is *aⁿ̄* (with a stroke over the *n*), and it is so written in this MS. where the word occurs at the beginning of the letter (l. 11, 'ante iudicium'). On the other hand, it has been pointed out by Rostagno that *ant* with a loop over the *t* is the regular abbreviation of *antecedenter*. As this word suits the sense, and its adoption involves only a very slight departure from the MS. reading, *antecedenter* seems preferable to *ante*. One or other of these would appear to be required as the correlative to the following *deinde*. (See *Bull. Soc. Dant. Ital.*, N.S. xii. 125 n.)

illam non lentis passibus acceptabo. Quod si per nullam talem Florentia introitur, nunquam Florentiam introibo. Quidni? nonne[a] solis astrorumque specula ubique conspiciam? Nonne dulcissimas veritates potero speculari ubique sub coelo, ni prius inglorium, immo ignominiosum, populo Florentino, civitati[b] me reddam? Quippe nec panis deficiet.

[a] MS. *non* [b] O. *populo Florentinaeque civitati*

TRANSLATION

[*To a Friend in Florence.*]

§ 1. From your letter, which I received with due respect and affection, and have diligently studied, I learn with gratitude how my recall to Florence has been the object of your care and concern; and I am the more beholden to you therefor, inasmuch as it rarely happens that an exile finds friends. My reply to what you have written, although perchance it be not of such tenour as certain faint hearts would desire, I earnestly beg may be carefully examined and considered by you before judgement be passed upon it.

§ 2. I gather, then, from the letter of your nephew and mine, as well as from those of sundry other friends, that, by the terms of a decree lately promulgated in Florence touching the pardon of the exiles, I may receive pardon, and be permitted to return forthwith, on condition that I pay a certain sum of money, and submit to the stigma of the oblation—two propositions, my Father, which in sooth are as ridiculous as they are ill-advised—ill-advised, that is to say, on the part of those who have communicated them, for in your letter, which was more discreetly and cautiously formulated, no hint of such conditions was conveyed.

§ 3. This, then, is the gracious recall of Dante Alighieri to his native city, after the miseries of well-nigh fifteen years of exile! This is the reward of innocence manifest

to all the world, and of the sweat and toil of unremitting study! Far be from a familiar of philosophy such a senseless act of abasement as to submit himself to be presented at the oblation, like a felon in bonds, as one Ciolo and other infamous wretches have done! Far be it from the preacher of justice, after suffering wrong, to pay of his money to those that wronged him, as though they had deserved well of him!

§ 4. No! my father, not by this path will I return to my native city. If some other can be found, in the first place by yourself and thereafter by others, which does not derogate from the fame and honour of Dante, that will I tread with no lagging steps. But if by no such path Florence may be entered, then will I enter Florence never. What! can I not anywhere gaze upon the face of the sun and the stars? can I not under any sky contemplate the most precious truths, without I first return to Florence, disgraced, nay dishonoured, in the eyes of my fellow-citizens? Assuredly bread will not fail me!

EPISTOLA X

('*Inclyta vestrae Magnificentiae laus*')

To Can Grande della Scala

[*c.* 1319]

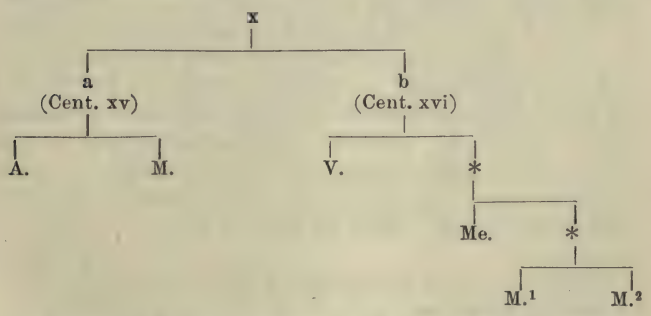
MSS.—This letter has been preserved, in whole or in part, in six MS. texts, two of Cent. xv, which contain the first four sections only (that is, the strictly epistolary portion) of the letter, namely, *Cod. Ambrosiano C. 145. Inf.* at Milan (A.), and *Cod. Lat. 78* at Munich (M.)[1]; and four of Cent. xvi, three of which contain the whole letter, namely, *Cod. Mediceo* (forming part of the *Carte Strozziane*) in the Archivio di Stato at Florence (Me.), *Cod. Magliabechiano vi. 164* at Florence (M.[1]), and *Cod. 314* in the Capitular Library at Verona (V.), while the fourth (M.[2]), which is preserved in the same *Cod. Magliabechiano* which contains the complete text, is incomplete, sections 4–6, and 28–32 inclusive, being wanting.[2]

[1] The preamble ('Praefari aliqua'), which is prefixed to the letter in the other four MSS., is also wanting in these two MSS. (see *Introduction* (p. xli–ii).

[2] For the above account of the MSS. containing the letter I am indebted to the exhaustive article of G. Boffito published in 1907 in the Transactions of the Reale Accademia delle Scienze of Turin (*L' Epistola di Dante Alighieri a Cangrande della Scala: Saggio d' Edizione critica e di commento*, p. 2). Owing to the fact that, in spite of repeated efforts on his own and on my behalf by the late Dr. Moore, it proved impossible to procure photographic reproductions of these MSS., I have been unable to make diplomatic transcripts of the MS. texts as in the case of previous letters, and have been obliged to rely upon the collations of the MSS. printed by Boffito in the above-mentioned article. A tentative sketch of the relationship of the six MSS. was published by Vincenzo Biagi in a review (to which I am much indebted) of Boffito's article in *Bullettino della Società Dantesca Italiana*, NS. xvi. 21–37 (1909). In this scheme

PRINTED TEXTS.[1]—1. G. Baruffaldi (1700)[2]: in *La Galleria di Minerva* (Venezia, 1700; vol. iii, pp. 220–8). 2. G. Berno (1749): in *La Divina Commedia di Dante Alighieri* (Verona, 1749; vol. i, pp. xxv–xxxviii). 3. A. Zatta (1758): in *Le Opere di Dante con varie Annotazioni* (Venezia, 1757–8; vol. iv, pp. 400–8). 4. A. Zatta (1760): in *Le Opere di Dante con varie Annotazioni* (Venezia, 1760; vol. v, pp. 469–80). 5. Witte (1827): *Epist.* ix, in *Dantis Allighierii Epistolae quae exstant* (pp. 73–102). 6. Fraticelli (1840): *Epist.* vi (*op. cit.*, pp. 300–66). 7. Torri (1842): *Epist.* xiv (*op. cit.*, pp. 108–40). 8. Witte (1855): (§§ 1–4 only, from the Munich MS.), in *Observationes de Dantis Epistola nuncupatoria ad Canem Grandem de Scala*[3] (Halle, 1855); reprinted in *Dante-Forschungen* (Heilbronn, 1869; vol. i, pp. 500–7). 9. Fraticelli (1857): *Epist.* xi (*op. cit.*, pp. 532–62). 10. Giuliani (1861): in *Metodo di commentare la Commedia di Dante Allighieri* (Firenze, 1861; pp. 14–40). 11. Giuliani

(p. 22) the two Cent. xv MSS. (A. and M.) fall into one group (a), and the four Cent. xvi MSS. (V., Me., M.[1], M.[2]) into another (b), probably somewhat as under:



[1] For titles of editions referred to here as already quoted, see above, pp. 1–2.

[2] Sundry extracts from the letter had been quoted, and in some cases printed, at an earlier date; see *Introduction*, pp. xxxvi–xl, and Boffito, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

[3] Printed in honour of L. G. Blanc.

(1882): *Epist.* x, in *Le Opere Latine di Dante Allighieri* (vol. ii, pp. 34–64). 12. Scartazzini (1890): in *Prolegomeni della Divina Commedia* (pp. 386–98).[1] 13. Fraticelli (1893): *Epist.* xi (*op. cit.*, pp. 508–36).[2] 14. Moore (1894): *Epist.* x (*op. cit.*, pp. 414–20). 15. Moore (1904): *Epist.* x (*op. cit.*, pp. 414–20).[3] 16. G. Boffito (1907): in *Memorie della Reale Accademia delle Scienze di Torino* (Torino, 1907; Serie ii, Tom. lvii, pp. 11–13, 17–20, 28–33). 17. Passerini (1910): *Epist.* x (*op. cit.*, pp. 102–52).[4] 18. [Della Torre] (1917): *Epist.* xvii (*op. cit.*, pp. 285–308).[5] 19. Paget Toynbee (1919): (emended text, with collations of the various readings of the MSS. and of the printed editions of the letter, and list of proposed emendations in the Oxford text) in *Modern Language Review* (vol. xiv, pp. 278–302).

Translations.[6]—*Italian.* 1. Fraticelli (1840): *op. cit.*, pp. 301–67. 2. M. Misserini (1842): in Torri, *op. cit.*, pp. 109–41. 3. Fraticelli (1857): (revised trans.) *op. cit.*, pp. 533–63. 4. Giuliani (1861): in *Metodo di commentare la Commedia di Dante Allighieri* (pp. 15–41). 5. Giuliani (1882): (revised trans.) in *Le Opere Latine di Dante Allighieri* (vol. ii, pp. 35–65). 6. Passerini (1910): *op. cit.*, pp. 103–53.—*German.* 1. Kannegiesser (1845): *op. cit.*, pp. 210–26. 2. Scartazzini (1879): (extracts) in *Dante Alighieri, seine Zeit, sein Leben und seine Werke* (pp. 429–30).—*English.* 1. K. Hillard (1889): in *The Banquet of Dante Alighieri* (London, 1889; pp. 390–406). 2. Latham (1891): *op. cit.*, pp. 187–216. 3. Wicksteed (1904): *op. cit.*, pp. 343–62. 4. Paget Toynbee (*see below*, pp. 195–211).—*French.* Comtesse Horace de Choiseul (1915): (extracts) in *Dante: Le Paradis* (Paris, 1915; pp. x, xi, xiv, 2, 3, 408).

[1] This text, which follows that of Fraticelli, is disfigured by a number of misprints.

[2] A revised issue of the text of 1857.

[3] An emended text.

[4] This text is disfigured by more than a dozen misprints.

[5] There are fifteen misprints in this text.

[6] For titles of editions referred to here as already quoted, see above, p. 2.

AUTHENTICITY.—Dante's authorship of this letter has been vehemently contested,[1] but since the publication of Dr. Moore's exhaustive article on the subject in the third series of his *Studies in Dante*,[2] its authenticity may be regarded as definitely established. The letter was known to and quoted by several of the early commentators on the *Commedia*,[3] among others to Guido da Pisa and Jacopo della Lana, both of whose commentaries were written within a few years of Dante's death.[4]

DATE.—In the absence of detailed information with regard to the last few years of Dante's life, it is difficult to assign a precise date to the letter. From the epithet 'victoriosissimus' applied to Can Grande in the title, it is obvious that it must have been written before Aug. 25, 1320, the date of Can Grande's disastrous defeat before Padua; on the other hand this epithet would be appropriate in or shortly after 1318, in which year (April) Can Grande took Cremona, and was elected (Dec.) Captain General of the Ghibelline League in Lombardy. The most probable date seems to be 1319 (Dante being then the guest of Guido da Polenta at Ravenna), at which time, as we know from *Eclogue* i, though the *Paradiso* was not yet finished (ll. 48–50),[5] ten cantos were completed (l. 64).[6]

SUMMARY.—1. (*Epistolary*, §§ 1–4)[7]: § 1. In order to satisfy himself as to the truth of the reports of Can Grande's fame Dante

[1] See, for instance, the article of D'Ovidio in his *Studii sulla Divina Commedia* (pp. 448 ff.).

[2] 'The genuineness of the Dedicatory Epistle to Can Grande' (pp. 284 ff.).

[3] See *Introduction*, p. xvii, and the extracts from fourteenth-century commentators printed by Boffito at the end of his article.

[4] That of Guido da Pisa was written probably *c.* 1324; that of Jacopo della Lana *c.* 1326.

[5] 'Quum mundi circumflua corpora cantu
Astricolaeque meo, velut infera regna, patebunt,
Devincire caput hedera lauroque iuvabit.'

[6] 'Hac implebo decem missurus vascula Mopso.'

[7] See Moore, *Studies in Dante*, iii. 286.

visited Verona, where he found that the reports in fact fell short of the truth; previously well disposed towards Can Grande by inclination, he now, after witnessing his splendour, and partaking of his bounty, professes himself his devoted servant and friend. § 2. Having defended himself against a possible charge of presumption in declaring himself Can Grande's friend; § 3. he explains how he had cast about to find some gift worthy of Can Grande's acceptance, and how he finally decided to offer to him the last Cantica of his *Commedia*, the *Paradiso*, which he herewith dedicates to him. § 4. He realizes that in so doing he may be thought to be conferring more honour on the recipient than on the gift; but now having said what he had to say in epistolary form, he will assume the office of commentator, and proceed to the task of furnishing an introduction to the poem.

2. (*Doctrinal*, §§ 5–16)[1]: § 5. Of the difference between absolute and relative terms; and of the relation, *inter alia*, of the part to the whole. § 6. Before the part can be explained, some knowledge must be conveyed of the poem as a whole; six points to be considered, viz. the subject, the author, the form, the aim, the title, and the branch of philosophy to which the work belongs; in respect of three of which, viz. subject, form, and title, the part differs from the whole. § 7. The work to be interpreted in more senses than one, the meaning throughout being firstly literal, and secondly allegorical or mystical. Illustration from *Psalm* cxiii. 1 ('In exitu Israel de Aegypto') of literal, allegorical, moral, and anagogical (or spiritual) meaning. § 8. Explanation of the subject of the poem, first in the literal, then in the allegorical sense. § 9. The form of the poem twofold, viz. the form of the treatise and the form of the treatment; the former of which is shown to be threefold, and the latter tenfold. § 10. Explanation of the title of the poem, *Commedia*; of the origin and meaning of the words *comoedia* and *tragoedia*, and of the difference between them. § 11. Explanation of the subject of the *Paradiso*, in the literal and

[1] See Moore, *Studies in Dante*, iii. 286.

allegorical senses. §§ 12, 13. Wherein its form and title differ from that of the whole poem. §§ 14, 15, 16. Of the author, the aim, and the classification of the *Paradiso*.

3. (*Expository*, §§ 17–33)[1]: § 17. The *Paradiso* divided into two main parts, viz. the prologue, and the subject proper. § 18. As to the prologue, and its division into two parts. § 19. The three conditions of a good rhetorical exordium, as laid down by Cicero, fulfilled in the announcement of the subject of the *Paradiso*. §§ 20–3. The truth of the statement in the first terzina of the first canto proved by reason, and by authority. §§ 24–7. Discussion and explanation of the term 'empyrean'; justification of its application in the present case. §§ 28, 29. Of experiences transcending human understanding and beyond the power of human speech. § 30. Of the subject proper of the *Paradiso*. § 31. Of the second part of the prologue, and its two sub-divisions. § 32. Further discussion of the prologue postponed for the present owing to the pressure of family affairs. § 33. For which reason also no more can be said now as to the explanation of the main subject, save that it is intended to include the ascent from heaven to heaven, until at last the presence is reached of God Himself, the Beginning and the End.

Magnifico atque victoriosissimo[a 2] *Domino, Domino Kani Grandi de la Scala,*[b 3] *sacratissimi et Caesarei*[c] *princi-*

A. = *Cod. Ambrosiano C. 145. Inf.* (*Milan*) M. = *Cod. Lat. 78* (*Munich*) Me. = *Cod. Mediceo* (*Florence*) V. = *Cod. 314* (*Verona*) M.[1] = *Cod. Magliabechiano vi. 164. A* (*Florence*) M.[2] = *Cod. Magliabechiano vi. 164. B* O. = *Oxford Dante* (O.[1] = *ed.* 1894; O.[2] = *ed.* 1897; O.[3] = *ed.* 1904)

[a] M.M.[1]M.[2]Me.V.O. *victorioso* [b] M.[1]M.[2]V.O. *de Scala* [c] M.[1]M.[2]V. *s. et sereni*; O. *s. Caesarei*

[1] See Moore, *Studies in Dante*, iii. 286.

[2] The superlative, which is the reading of A., is more in keeping with Dante's style and rhythm than *victorioso*; cf. the titles of *Epist.* i, vii, and of the three Battifolle letters (*Epist.* vii*, vii**, vii***).

[3] 'De la Scala' appears to have been the regular Latin form of the Scaliger surname; it is the form used by the author (writing in 1317) of the Latin commentary on the *Ecerinis* of Albertino

patus in urbe Verona et civitate Vicentiae[a 1] *Vicario Generali, devotissimus suus Dantes Alagherii*[b], *Florentinus natione non moribus, vitam orat*[c 2] *per tempora diuturna*[d] *felicem, et gloriosi nominis perpetuum*[e] *incrementum.*

§ 1. Inclyta[f] vestrae Magnificentiae[3] laus, quam fama vigil volitando[g 4] disseminat, sic distrahit in di-

[a] M.[1] M.[2] Me.O. *Vicentia*; V. *Vicentina* [b] A.M. *Aligerius*; M.[1] M.[2] Me.V. *Allagherii*; O. *Alighierius* [c] M.[1] M.[2] *orat al optat*; Me. *orat ut optat*; O. *optat* [d] A. *diuturnam* [e] Me.O. *in perpetuum* [f] A. *Inclytae* [g] M.[1] M.[2] V. *volitanter*; Me.O. *volitans*

Mussato ('Cani Grandi de la Scala'), by Pietro di Dante in his comment on *Par.* xvii. 46 ('illos de la Scala de Verona'), by Filippo Villani in his *Expositio* of the first canto of the *Inferno* (§ 3 'ad dominum Canem de la Scala'), and by Benvenuto da Imola in his *Comentum* (on *Purg.* xviii. 121: 'Mastinus de la Scala', 'insula de la Scala', 'Albertus de la Scala'; on *Par.* xvii. 70: 'Bartholomaeus de la Scala'). In the *Statuto dello Spedale di Santa Maria di Siena* the hospital is frequently referred to as 'Hospitale Sancte Marie de la Scala de Senis' (see *Statuti Senesi*, ed. L. Banchi, vol. iii. pp. 128, 130, 132, 194, 212). Torraca, in his *Studi Danteschi* (p. 255 n.), quotes from Cipolla's *Compendio della Storia Politica di Verona* two documents (dated 1317 and 1323) in which Can Grande's name occurs as 'Canem grandem de la Scala'. See also the documents of Jan. 10 and Feb. 4, 1311, quoted by Bonaini in *Acta Henrici VII* (vol. i, pp. 124, 144).

[1] The mediaeval formula was not *civitas Vicentia, civitas Bononia, civitas Florentia*, &c., but *civitas Vicentiae, c. Bononiae*, &c.; or (less commonly) *civitas Vicentina, c. Bononiensis*, &c. For examples of the former usage, see Del Lungo, *Dell' Esilio di Dante*, pp. 75, 80, 91, &c. ('civitas Florentiae'); pp. 101, 141, 158 ('c. Pistorii'); p. 141 ('c. Aretii'). [2] Cf. 'orat pacem' in the title of *Epist.* v.

[3] I take 'Magnificentia' here and in § 32 to be a title of honour, as in *Epist.* iv (iii). 6, and in the title of *Epist.* vii* (see *Mod. Lang. Rev.* xii. 303 n.).

[4] Cf. 'volitans Fama', *Aen.* vii. 104; ix. 473–4; and her 'vigiles oculi', *Aen.* iv. 182. The reading *volitando* restores the *cursus*—'(voli)tándo disséminat' (*tardus*).

versa diversos, ut hos in spem [a] suae prosperitatis [b] attollat, hos exterminii deiciat [c] in terrorem.[d 1] Huius [e] quidem praeconium, facta [f] modernorum exsuperans [g 2], tamquam veri existentia [h] latius, arbitrabar aliquando [i] superfluum. Verum ne diuturna me nimis incertitudo [j] suspenderet, velut Austri regina [k] Hierusalem petiit [3], velut Pallas petiit Helicona [l 4], Veronam petii fidis oculis discursurus [m] audita. Ibique [n] magnalia vestra vidi, vidi beneficia simul [o] et tetigi; et quemadmodum prius dictorum ex parte [p] suspicabar excessum, sic posterius ipsa facta excessiva cognovi. Quo factum ut [q] ex auditu solo cum quadam animi subiectione benevolus

[a] Me.V. *in spe*; M.[1]M.[2] *in spei* [b] M.[1]M.[2] *posteritatis* [c] A. *deiecit*; M. *deicit*; M.[1] *deuiat* [d] M.[2] omits *in terrorem* [e] M.[1]M.[2]Me.V.O. *hoc* [f] A. *facto* [g] A.M. *exuberans* [h] M.[1]M.[2]Me. *essentia* [i] M.[1]M.[2]Me.V. *alii* [j] A. *incertitudine* [k] A. *regiam* [l] M.[1]M.[2]O. *Heliconam* [m] A.M. *discussurus* [n] M.[1]M.[2]Me.V. *Audita ubique* [o] A.M. *similiter* [p] M.[1]M.[2]Me.V.O. omit *ex parte* [q] M.[1]M.[2]Me.O. *factum est ut*

[1] Cf. Dante's prophecy concerning Can Grande, *Par.* xvii. 85–90:

> Le sue magnificenze conosciute
> Saranno ancora sì, che i suoi nimici
> Non ne potran tener le lingue mute.
> A lui t'aspetta ed ai suoi benefici;
> Per lui fia trasmutata molta gente,
> Cambiando condizion ricchi e mendici.

[2] Cf. *Par.* xvii. 91–3.

[3] *Matt.* xii. 42; *Luke* xi. 31; Dante's reference to the Queen as 'regina Austri' shows that he had in mind the N.T. passages, as well as the accounts in 1 *Kings* x and 2 *Chron.* ix, where she is styled 'regina Saba'.

[4] The reading *Helicona* is assured by the 'Helicona petit' of Ovid, *Metam.* v. 254, to which Dante is here referring (as well as by *Aen.* vii. 641; x. 163). On Dante's practice of coupling examples from sacred and profane literature, as here, see Moore, *Studies*, i. 26–7, 118; ii. 22–5; iii. 301.

prius exstiterim; sed ex visu primordii et[a] devotissimus et amicus.

§ 2. Nec reor, amici nomen assumens, ut nonnulli forsitan obiectarent, reatum praesumptionis incurrere[b] [1], quum non minus dispares connectantur quam pares amicitiae sacramento.[2] Nam si delectabiles[c] et utiles amicitias inspicere libeat, illis persaepius inspicienti patebit, praeeminentes inferioribus coniugari personas.[d] Et si[e] ad veram ac per se amicitiam torqueatur intuitus, nonne illustrium summorumque[f] principum[g] plerumque viros fortuna obscuros, honestate praeclaros, amicos fuisse constabit[3]? Quidni? quum etiam Dei et hominis amicitia nequaquam impediatur excessu! Quod si cuiquam, quod asseritur, videatur[h] indignum, Spiritum Sanctum audiat, amicitiae suae participes[i] quosdam[j] homines[k] profitentem. Nam in *Sapientia*[l] de sapientia legitur, 'quoniam infinitus thesaurus est hominibus, quo[m] qui usi sunt, participes facti sunt amicitiae[n] Dei'.[4] Sed habet imperitia vulgi sine discretione iudicium[5]; et quemadmodum solem pedalis magni-

[a] A.M. *sed ex usu postmodum*; M.[1] M.[2] *secundum ex visu primordii et*; O. *sic ex visu primordii et* [b] A.M. *mereri* [c] M.[1] M.[2] *nec non d.*; Me.V. *non d.* [d] A.M. *libeat illas p. i. patebit inferiores coniungut personas*; O. *libeat, persaepius i. p., p. inferioribus coniugari personis* [e] Me. *personas, si* [f] A. *summorum illustriumque* [g] M.[2] *principium* [h] A.M. *quid* (M. *quod*) *si cuiquam asserit nunc videret*; O. *Quod si cuiquam, quod asseritur, videretur* [i] V. omits *participes* [j] Me.V. *quosque* [k] A. *honores* [l] A. *insipientia*; M.[2] *in Sapientiam* [m] M.[2] *qua* [n] A.M. *usi sunt amicitie*

[1] I am inclined to suspect that the reading of A.M. is not *mereri* (as Boffito gives it), but *merere* (as Witte has it, from M., in *Dante-Forschungen*, i. 505).

[2] Cf. Aristotle, *Ethics*, viii. 2, 3, 8.

[3] *Ethics*, viii. 6.

[4] *Wisd.* vii. 14.

[5] Moore (*Studies*, iii. 338–9) compares *Conv.* i. 4, ll. 29–31; 11, ll. 22–7; iii. 10, l. 28; and *V. E.* i. 3, ll. 2–5.

tudinis arbitratur[1], sic circa mores,[2] et circa unam vel alteram rem vana credulitate decipitur.[a] Nos autem[b] quibus optimum quod[c] est in nobis noscere datum est, gregum vestigia sectari non decet, quinimmo suis erroribus obviare tenemur. Nam[d] intellectu ac ratione vigentes,[e 3] divina quadam libertate dotati,[f] nullis consuetudinibus adstringuntur[g]. Nec mirum, quum non ipsi legibus, sed ipsis leges potius[h] dirigantur. Liquet igitur, quod superius dixi, me scilicet esse devotissimum et amicum, nullatenus esse praesumptum[i 4].

§ 3. Praeferens ergo amicitiam vestram quasi thesaurum carissimum, providentia diligenti et accurata sollicitudine illam servare desidero[j]. Itaque quum in dogmatibus moralis negotii[k 5] amicitiam adaequari et

[a] M. *sic contra mores vana c. d.* ; M.[1] M.[2] *sic et circa unam vel imam rem c. d.* ; V. *sic circa una vel ima c. d.* ; O. *sic circa unam vel alteram rem c. d.* ; (the reading of A. is not given by Boffito) [b] M.[1] M.[2] Me.V. *nos enim* ; O. *Eos autem* [c] M. *quidem* [d] O. *tenentur : nam* [e] A. M.M.[1] M.[2] Me.V. *intellectu ac* (M. *atque*) *ratione degentes* [f] M.[1] M.[2] *d. q. libertate et ratione d.* ; Me.V. *d. q. ratione d.* [g] A.M. *astringitur* ; (the reading of V. is illegible) [h] V. *potius leges* [i] V.O. *praesumptuosum* [j] A. *desiderio* [k] M. *moralis philosophie negotii*

[1] Cf. Aristotle, *De Anim.* iii. 5 ; Cicero, *Fin.* i. 6 ; *Acad.* ii. 26 ; and *Conv.* iv. 8, ll. 51–3 : ' sapemo che alla più gente il sole pare di larghezza nel diametro d'un piede '.

[2] It is difficult to account for *mores* in M. and Me. (that is, in representatives of both of the MS. groups) unless the word was in the archetype from which they were derived.

[3] In spite of the unanimity of the MSS. in favour of *degentes* there can be no doubt as to *vigentes* being the true reading ; cf. *Mon.* i. 3, ll. 91–2, which, as Moore points out (*Studies*, i. 150 ; iii. 339), is a direct quotation from Aristotle, *Politics*, i. 2.

[4] This, the reading of five out of the six MSS., rectifies the *cursus* —' ésse praesúmptum ' (*planus*).

[5] Cf. the similar use of *negotium* in § 16 ; as Moore notes (*Studies*, iii. 304), *negotium* is the rendering in the *Antiqua Trans-*

salvari[a] analogo doceatur, ad retribuendum pro collatis beneficiis plus quam semel analogiam sequi[b] mihi votivum est[1]; et propter hoc munuscula mea[c] saepe multum[d] conspexi[e], et ab invicem segregavi, nec non segregata percensui, dignius gratiusque[f] vobis inquirens. Neque ipsi[g] praeeminentiae vestrae congruum comperi magis, quam[h] Comoediae sublimem canticam, quae decoratur titulo *Paradisi*; et illam sub praesenti epistola, tamquam sub epigrammate[2] proprio dedicatam[i], vobis adscribo, vobis offero, vobis denique recommendo.

§ 4. Illud quoque praeterire silentio simpliciter

[a] M.[1]Me.V. *ad quam et salvari* [b] M.[1]V. *b. qui semel analogia s.*; Me. *b. qui semel analogiam s.*; O. *b. analogiam s.* [c] M. omits *mea* [d] O. *multumque* [e] A.M. *aspexi* [f] M.[1]V. *dignusque cuiusque*; Me. *dignus quam cuiusquam*; O. *digniusque gratiusque* [g] A.M.M.[2] omit *ipsi*; M.[1]Me.V. *neque ipsum* [h] M. *congruum magis comperi quam*; Me. *congruum comperi quam* [i] V. *dicata*

latio of the *Ethics* of the term πραγματεία, which is several times applied by Aristotle to his ethical treatise. The reference is to *Ethics*, ix. 1.

[1] Cf. *Conv.* iii. 1, ll. 55–69: 'È da sapere che, siccome dice il Filosofo nel nono dell' *Etica*, nell' amistà delle persone dissimili di stato conviene, a conservazione di quella, una proporzione (*analogum*) essere intra loro, che la dissimilitudine a similitudine quasi riduca, siccome intra 'l signore e 'l servo. Chè, avvegnachè 'l servo non possa simile beneficio rendere al signore, quando da lui è beneficato, dee però rendere quello che migliore può con tanto di sollecitudine e di franchezza, che quello, ch' è dissimile per sè, si faccia simile per lo mostramento della buona volontà, la quale manifesta l' amistà, e ferma e conserva.'

[2] Vandelli (*Bull. Soc. Dant. Ital.*, N.S. viii. 148) quotes from Uguccione da Pisa: 'Item *gramma*, quod est *linea* vel *lettera*, componitur cum *epy*, quod est *supra*, et dicitur *hoc epygramma, -tis*, idest *superscriptio*, scilicet titulus vel brevis annotatio eorum que diffusius dicuntur in sequenti opere'.

inardescens[a 1] non sinit affectus, quod in hac donatione plus domino quam dono[b] honoris et famae[c] potest conferri videri[d 2]; quinimmo[e], cum eus titulo[f] iam praesagium[g] de gloria vestri nominis[h] amplianda[i], satis attentis[j] videar[k 3] expressisse; quod de proposito[l]. Sed zelus[m] gratiae[n] vestrae, quam sitio, invidiam[o 4] parvipendens, a primordio metam praefixam urgebit[p] ulterius. Itaque, formula consummata epistolae, ad introductionem oblati operis aliquid sub lectoris officio compendiose aggrediar.

§ 5. Sicut dicit[q] Philosophus in secundo *Metaphysicorum*[r]: 'Sicut res se habet ad esse, sic se habet ad

[a] M. omits *simpliciter inardescens*; O. *simpliciter, inardescens* [b] M.[1] Me.V. *plus dono quam domino* [c] Me.M. *et honoris et famae*; M.[1] V. *et honoris famae* [d] A.M.O. *conferri videri potest*; M.[1] Me.V. *ferri videri potest* [e] A.M. *quid mirum?* [f] A.M.V. *titulum* [g] Me.V. *praesagia* [h] Me.V. omit *vestri* [i] M. *ampliandum*; Me.V. *ampliandus* [j] A.M. *satis hactenus* [k] A.M.V.O. *videbar*; M.[1]Me. *mihi videbatur* [l] A.M. *de proposito fui* [m] A. *gelus*; M.[1]Me.V.O.[1]O.[2] *tenellus* [n] O.[3] *gloriae* [o] A.M.O.[3] *nostram*; M.[1]O.[1]O.[2] *vitam*; Me.V. *qui vitam* [p] M.[1]O.[1]O.[2] *urgebo*; A. *urgē*; Me.V. *arguet* [q] M.O. *dixit* [r] V. *Metaphysices*

[1] It seems best, with Parodi (*Bull. Soc. Dant. Ital.*, N.S. xix. 273–4), to omit the comma at *simpliciter* (which involves a violation of the *cursus*), and to take 'simpliciter inardescens' together.

[2] The reading of the MSS. violates the *cursus*, which is rectified by the transposition in the text—'(con)férri vidéri' (*planus*). The meaning of this passage has been the subject of lengthy discussion (see, for instance, *Bull. Soc. Dant. Ital.*, N.S. viii. 148–9; xvi. 28; xix. 274–5), but no satisfactory result has yet been arrived at.

[3] This emendation, which follows a suggestion of Böhmer (*Dante-Jahrbuch*, i. 398), rectifies the *cursus*—'vídear èxpressisse' (*velox*).

[4] This emendation, also a suggestion of Böhmer (*loc. cit.*), which commends itself to Biagi and Parodi (*Bull. Soc. Dant. Ital.*, N.S. xvi. 24 n.; xix. 274), while rectifying the *cursus*—'(in)vídiam pàrvipéndens' (*velox*)—gives the required sense.

veritatem'[1]; cuius ratio est, quia[a] veritas de re, quae in[b] veritate consistit tamquam in subiecto, est similitudo perfecta rei sicut est. Eorum vero quae sunt, quaedam sic sunt, ut habeant esse absolutum in se; quaedam sunt ita[c], ut habeant esse dependens ab alio per relationem quandam, ut eodem tempore esse, et ad aliud se habere[d], ut relativa, sicut pater et filius,[e] dominus et servus, duplum et[f] dimidium, totum et[g] pars, et huiusmodi, in quantum talia.[2] Propterea quod[h] esse talium dependet ab alio, consequens est quod eorum veritas ab alio dependeat: ignorato enim dimidio, nunquam cognoscitur duplum; et sic de aliis.

§ 6. Volentes igitur aliqualem introductionem tradere[i] de parte operis alicuius, oportet aliquam notitiam tradere de toto cuius est pars. Quapropter et ego, volens de parte supra nominata totius[j] Comoediae aliquid tradere per modum introductionis, aliquid de toto opere praemittendum existimavi[k], ut facilior et perfectior sit ad partem introitus. Sex igitur sunt quae in principio cuiusque doctrinalis operis[l] inquirenda sunt, videlicet subiectum[m], agens, forma, finis, libri titulus, et genus philosophiae. De istis tria sunt in quibus pars ista quam vobis destinare proposui, variatur a toto, scilicet subiectum, forma et titulus; in aliis vero non variatur,

[a] Me. *quod* [b] Me. omits *in* [c] V. omits *ita* [d] Me. *ut ea tempore esse est ad aliud se habere*; M.[1]V. *ut ea quorum esse est ad aliud se habere* [e] O. *sicut relativa pater et filius* [f] Me. omits *et* [g] Me. omits *et* [h] M.[1] *propter quodque*; O. *Propterea quodque* [i] Me. omits *tradere* [j] O. omits *totius* [k] M.[1] *existimauit* [l] V. *operis doctrinalis* [m] M.[1]V. *factum*; Me. *subiectum factum*

[1] *Metaphys.* ii. 1 (*ad fin.*).

[2] Cf. the similar illustrations of relative and absolute terms in *Mon.* iii. 12, ll. 31–58.

sicut apparet inspicienti; et ideo, circa considerationem de toto, ista tria inquirenda seorsum [a] [1] sunt: quo facto, satis patebit ad introductionem partis. Deinde inquiremus alia tria, non solum per respectum ad totum, sed etiam per respectum ad ipsam partem oblatam.

§ 7. Ad evidentiam itaque dicendorum, sciendum est quod istius operis non est simplex sensus, immo dici potest *polysemos* [b] [2], hoc est plurium sensuum; nam primus [c] sensus est qui habetur per literam, alius est qui habetur per significata per literam. Et primus dicitur literalis, secundus vero allegoricus, sive mysticus.[3] Qui modus tractandi, ut melius pateat, potest considerari in his [d] versibus: 'In exitu Israel de Aegypto, domus Iacob de populo barbaro, facta est Iudaea sanctificatio eius, Israel potestas eius'.[4] Nam si ad [e] literam solam inspiciamus, significatur nobis exitus filiorum Israel de Aegypto, tempore Moysis; si ad [f] allegoriam, nobis significatur [g] nostra redemptio facta per Christum; si ad [h] moralem sensum, significatur nobis conversio animae de luctu et miseria peccati ad statum gratiae; si ad [i] anagogicum, significatur exitus animae sanctae [j] ab

[a] M.[1] O. *seorsim* [b] M.[1] *polysensuum*; V. *polysensum*; O. *polysemum* [c] O. *alius* [d] M.[1] Me. *istis* [e] M.[1] M.[2] O. omit *ad* [f] M.[2] O. omit *ad* [g] V. *significatur nobis* [h] M.[2] O. omit *ad* [i] M.[2] O. omit *ad* [j] V. omits *sanctae*

[1] This, not *seorsim* (which appears to have been unknown in classical Latin), is the form registered by Papias, Uguccione da Pisa, Giovanni da Genova, and the *Gemma Gemmarum*, and is the reading of all except one of the MSS.

[2] This is the reading of two MSS. Dante, no doubt, was indebted for the word to Uguccione da Pisa (see my *Dante Studies and Researches*, p. 106, and note 1).

[3] Cf. *Mon.* iii. 4, ll. 47–8.

[4] *Psalm* cxiv (*Vulg.* cxiii). 1–2.

huius corruptionis servitute ad aeternae[a] gloriae libertatem. Et quamvis[b] isti sensus mystici variis[c] appellentur nominibus, generaliter omnes dici possunt allegorici, quum sint a literali sive historiali diversi. Nam allegoria dicitur ab *alleon*[d] graece[e], quod in latinum dicitur alienum, sive[f] diversum.[1]

§ 8. His visis, manifestum est quod duplex oportet esse subiectum, circa quod currant alterni sensus. Et ideo videndum est de subiecto huius operis, prout ad literam accipitur; deinde de subiecto, prout allegorice sententiatur[g]. Est ergo subiectum totius operis, literaliter tantum accepti, status animarum post mortem simpliciter sumptus. Nam de illo et circa[h] illum totius operis versatur processus. Si vero accipiatur[i] opus allegorice, subiectum est homo prout merendo et demerendo per arbitrii libertatem iustitiae praemiandi et puniendi[j 2] obnoxius est.

§ 9. Forma vero est duplex, forma tractatus et forma tractandi. Forma tractatus est triplex, secundum triplicem divisionem. Prima divisio est, qua totum opus dividitur in tres canticas. Secunda, qua quaelibet cantica dividitur in cantus. Tertia, qua quilibet cantus

[a] M.[1] Me. V. *aeternam* [b] M.[1] M.[2] *quomodo*; Me. *quoniam*; O. *quamquam* [c] V. omits *variis* [d] M.[1] M.[2] Me. omit [e] Me. omits [f] Me. *uel* [g] V. *consideratur* [h] M.[2] *circam* [i] V. *accipitur* [j] O. *praemianti aut punienti*

[1] See my *Dante Studies and Researches*, p. 106, and note 2.

[2] This is the reading of all four MSS., as well as of Guido da Pisa in his commentary (see *Bull. Soc. Dant. Ital.*, N.S. viii. 152); and it was evidently the reading of the text utilized by Boccaccio in his *Comento*, where he translates: 'come l'uomo per lo libero arbitrio meritando e dismeritando, è alla giustizia di guiderdonare e di punire obbligato' (ed. Milanesi, i. 82).

dividitur in rithimos [a 1]. Forma sive modus tractandi est poëticus, fictivus, descriptivus [b], digressivus [c], transumptivus [d]; et cum hoc definitivus [e], divisivus, probativus [f], improbativus [g], et exemplorum positivus.[2]

§ 10. Libri titulus est: 'Incipit Comoedia Dantis Alagherii [h], Florentini natione, non moribus'. Ad cuius notitiam sciendum est, quod comoedia dicitur a *comos* [i 3] villa, et *oda* quod est cantus, unde comoedia quasi villanus cantus. Et est comoedia genus quoddam poëticae narrationis, ab omnibus aliis differens. Differt [j] ergo a tragoedia in materia per hoc, quod tragoedia in principio est [k] admirabilis et quieta, in fine sive [l] exitu est [m] foetida et [n] horribilis; et dicitur propter hoc a

[a] Me.V. *rhythmos*; M.[1]M.[2] *rhytmos* [b] Me.V. *et descriptivus* [c] Cancelled in V. [d] V. omits [e] Me. *diffinitiuus* [f] Me. *probans* [g] Me. *improbans* [h] M.[1]M.[2]V. *Allagherii*; O. *Aligherii* [i] O. *comus* [j] M.[2] *differet* [k] V. *est in principio* [l] M.[2]Me.V. *seu* [m] V. omits *est* [n] Me.V. *sive*

[1] In the *De Vulgari Eloquentia* this word is used in the sense of 'rhyme'; here it means the rhymed lines composing the *terzine*; cf. the use of 'ritmo' in *Conv.* i. 10, l. 88, where it is explained as 'numero regolato'. (See Moore, *Studies*, iii. 310.)

[2] Cf. Benvenuto da Imola, in the *Introductio* to his *Comentum super Dantis Comoediam*: 'Diffinitivus, quia saepe diffinit; diffinit enim fidem, spem, et item de multis. Divisivus, quia dividit Infernum per circulos, Purgatorium per gradus, Paradisum per spheras; et ita de multis. Probativus, quia saepe probat dicta sua rationibus et persuasionibus. Improbativus, quia saepe improbat dicta aliorum, ut saepe patet. Exemplorum positivus, ut patet per totum' (i. 18).

[3] Apart from the fact that this is the reading of all four MSS., this form is assured by its occurrence in the passage of the *Magnae Derivationes* of Uguccione da Pisa from which Dante is here quoting (see my *Dante Studies and Researches*, p. 103), as well as in the commentaries of Pietro di Dante (p. 9), the Anonimo Fiorentino (vol. i, p. 9), Villani (§ 10), and Buti (vol. ii, p. 533).

tragos[a] [1] quod est hircus, et *oda*, quasi cantus hircinus, id est foetidus[b] ad modum hirci, ut patet per Senecam in suis tragoediis. Comoedia vero inchoat asperitatem alicuius rei, sed eius materia prospere terminatur, ut patet per Terentium in suis comoediis. Et hinc consueverunt dictatores quidam in suis salutationibus [2] dicere loco salutis, 'tragicum principium, et comicum finem'.[3] Similiter differunt in modo loquendi: elate et sublime tragoedia; comoedia vero remisse et humiliter[c] [4]; sicut vult Horatius in sua *Poëtria*[d] [5], ubi licentiat aliquando[e] comicos ut tragoedos loqui, et sic e converso:

> Interdum tamen et vocem comoedia tollit,
> Iratusque Chremes tumido delitigat ore;
> Et tragicus plerumque dolet sermone pedestri
> Telephus et Peleus etc.[f] [6]

[a] O. *tragus* [b] M.[2] *fedidus* [c] V. *humiliter et remisse* [d] M.[1] M.[2] V.O. *Poetica* [e] M.[1] M.[2] *aliter* [f] O. omits *Telephus et Peleus etc.*

[1] See previous note.

[2] The *salutatio* was one of the recognized five parts of a letter, the other four being the *exordium, narratio, petitio, conclusio.*

[3] This, like the derivations of 'comedy' and 'tragedy', comes from Uguccione da Pisa (see my *Dante Studies and Researches*, p. 104).

[4] On the distinction between tragedy and comedy, cf. *V. E.* ii. 4, ll. 38 ff.

[5] This, which is the reading of Me., is the form in which Dante quotes the *Ars Poetica* in the *De Vulgari Eloquentia* (ii. 4, l. 35), as well as in the *Vita Nuova* (§ 25, l. 92) and *Convivio* (ii. 14, l. 88); it was the title by which the work was commonly quoted by mediaeval writers; cf., for instance, Uguccione da Pisa and Giovanni da Genova (s.v. *poeta*): 'a poeta . . . hec poetria, -trie, ars poetica'; and the commentaries of the Ottimo and Boccaccio on *Inf.* iv. 89; and of Pietro di Dante (p. 5), Villani (§ 10), Buti (vol. i, pp. 4, 487; vol. ii, pp. 577, 814; vol. iii, p. 13), and Benvenuto da Imola (vol. i, pp. 9, 79, 453; vol. ii, p. 489; vol. v, pp. 133, 384).

[6] *Ars Poet.* 93–6.

Et per hoc patet quod comoedia dicitur praesens opus. Nam si ad materiam respiciamus, a principio horribilis et foetida est, quia [a] *Infernus*; in fine prospera, desiderabilis [b] et grata, quia *Paradisus*. Ad modum [c] loquendi, remissus est modus et humilis, quia locutio vulgaris, in qua et mulierculae [1] communicant. Et sic patet quare [d] comoedia dicitur [e]. Sunt et alia genera narrationum poëticarum, scilicet [f] carmen bucolicum, elegia, satira, et sententia votiva [g 2], ut etiam per Horatium patere potest in sua *Poëtria* [h]; sed de istis ad praesens nil dicendum est.

§ 11. Potest amodo [i] patere, quomodo assignandum sit subiectum partis oblatae. Nam si totius operis literaliter sumpti sic est subiectum [j], status animarum post mortem, non contractus sed simpliciter acceptus, manifestum est quod hac in parte talis status est subiectum, sed contractus, scilicet status animarum beatarum post mortem. Et si totius operis allegorice sumpti subiectum est homo prout merendo et [k] demerendo per arbitrii libertatem est iustitiae praemiandi et puniendi [l] obnoxius, manifestum est in hac parte hoc subiectum contrahi, et est homo prout merendo [m] obnoxius est iustitiae praemiandi [n].

§ 12. Et sic patet de forma partis per formam assi-

[a] M.[2] *fedida est qua* [b] Mc. *et desiderabilis* [c] O. *Si ad modum* [d] Mc. *quia* [e] O. omits *Et sic . . . dicitur* [f] V. omits; Mc. *sicut* [g] M.[2] *votive* [h] M.[1]M.[2]V.O. *Poetica* [i] Mc.V. *admodo* [j] V. omits *partis oblatae . . . subiectum* [k] Mc. *uel* [l] O. *praemianti aut punienti* [m] Mc.V. omit *merendo* [n] O. *praemianti*; Mc. *praemiandi et puniendi*

[1] With this somewhat depreciatory reference to women Moore (*Studies*, iii. 326) compares *V. E.* i. 1, l. 6; 4, ll. 18–23; *Conv.* iv. 19, l. 88; *Purg.* xxix. 26; *A. T.* § 19, l. 69.

[2] Cf. *Ars Poet.* 76: 'voti sententia compos'.

gnatam totius. Nam si forma tractatus in toto est triplex, in hac parte tantum [a] est duplex, scilicet divisio canticae et cantuum.[b] Non eius potest esse propria forma divisio prima,[c] quum ista pars sit primae divisionis.

§ 13. Patet etiam libri titulus.[d] Nam [e] titulus totius libri est: 'Incipit Comoedia [f]', etc. ut supra [g]; titulus autem huius partis est [h]: 'Incipit cantica tertia Comoediae Dantis, quae [i] dicitur *Paradisus*'.

§ 14. Inquisitis his tribus in [j] quibus variatur pars a toto, videndum est de aliis tribus in quibus variatio nulla [k] est a toto [l]. Agens igitur totius et partis est ille qui dictus est, et totaliter esse videtur [m].

§ 15. Finis totius et partis esse posset [n] multiplex [o], scilicet [p] propinquus et remotus. Sed [q] omissa subtili investigatione, dicendum est breviter quod finis totius et partis est, removere viventes in hac vita de statu miseriae, et perducere ad statum felicitatis.

§ 16. Genus [r] philosophiae sub quo hic in toto et parte proceditur est morale negotium,[1] sive [s] ethica; quia non ad speculandum, sed ad opus [2] inventum [t] est totum [u] et pars [v]. Nam si et [w] in aliquo loco vel passu [x] pertractatur [y] ad modum speculativi negotii, hoc non est

[a] Me. *tamen* [b] Me.V. *cantuum et rhythmorum* [c] V. *esse propria prima divisio*; Me. *esse forma divisio prima*; M.[1]M.[2] *esse pro firma divisio prima* [d] M.[1]M.[2]Me.V. *titulus seu de libri titulo* [e] O. *Nam si* [f] M.[2] *comoedia Dantis* [g] V. omits *etc. ut supra* [h] O. *erit* [i] M.[2]Me. *Dantis etc. quae* [j] Me. omits *in* [k] V. *nulla variatio* [l] Me. *a toto et pp* [m] V.O. *videtur esse.* [n] O. *potest* [o] M.[1]M.[2] *et multiplex* [p] Me. *sed* [q] V. *scilicet* [r] V.O. *Genus vero* [s] M.[1]M.[2]V. *seu* [t] O. *incoeptum* [u] V. *et totum* [v] O. omits *et pars* [w] O. *Nam etsi* [x] Me. *passim* [y] Me.V. *pertractamus*

[1] See the note on this word, p. 169, n. 5.

[2] *Ethics* i. 3.

gratia speculativi negotii, sed gratia operis [1]; quia ut [a] ait Philosophus in secundo *Metaphysicorum* [b]; 'ad aliquid et nunc [c] [2] speculantur practici aliquando'.[d] [3]

§ 17. His itaque praemissis, ad expositionem literae secundum quandam praelibationem accedendum est; circa quod praesciendum est quod expositio literae [e] nil [f] aliud est quam formae operis manifestatio. Dividitur ergo ista pars, seu ista [g] tertia cantica quae *Paradisus* dicitur, principaliter in duas partes, scilicet in prologum et partem executivam.[4] Pars secunda incipit ibi [h]: 'Surgit mortalibus per diversas fauces'.[5]

§ 18. De parte prima sciendum est [i] quod, quamvis

[a] M.[1] M.[2] omit *ut* [b] Me. *Metaphysices*; V. *Metaphysicae* [c] O. *tunc* [d] V. *aliquando etiam speculantur practici.* [e] M.[1] M.[2] *accedendum est. Quod de expositione literae*; Me. *a. est, et illud pronunciandum, quod expositio literae*; O. *a. est; at illud praenunciandum, q. e. l.* [f] Me. *nichil* [g] Me.O. omit *ista* [h] Me.V. add *quasi in medio primi* [i] M.[1] M.[2] Me.O. *est sciendum*

[1] Cf. *Mon.* i. 2, ll. 26–36.

[2] This, the reading of all four MSS., is confirmed by a reference to the *Antiqua Translatio* of the *Metaphysics*, from which Dante is here quoting ('ad aliquid et nunc speculantur practici'), which is the form in which the passage is quoted by Guido da Pisa in his commentary (see *Bull. Soc. Dant. Ital.*, N.S. viii. 154).

[3] *Metaphys.* ii. 1; the rendering is very literal, the original being *πρός τι καὶ νῦν θεωροῦσιν οἱ πρακτικοί.* In the Oxford translation the passage from which the quotation is taken is rendered (by W. D. Ross): 'The end of theoretical knowledge is truth, while that of practical knowledge is action (for even if they consider how things are, practical men do not study the cause in itself, but in some relation and at some time)'.

[4] That is, the introduction and the narrative proper, corresponding to the *proemio* and *trattato* of *V. N.* § 19, ll. 93–5; and *Conv.* iii. 2, l. 2; 10, ll. 83–4; 12, l. 37; iv. 2, ll. 121–5; 3, ll. 1–2, &c. (see my article on 'Dante's uses of the word *trattato* in the *Convivio* and *Vita Nuova*', in *Romania*, xxxii. 565 ff., 569).

[5] *Par.* i. 37.

communi ratione posset dici exordium [a], proprie autem loquendo non debet dici [b] nisi prologus; quod Philosophus in tertio *Rhetoricorum* videtur innuere [c], ubi dicit quod 'prooemium est in [d] oratione rhetorica sicut prologus in poëtica, et praeludium in fistulatione'.[1] Est etiam praenotandum, quod praeviatio [e 2] ista, quae communiter exordium dici potest, aliter fit a poëtis, aliter [f] a rhetoribus. Rhetores enim consuevere [g] praelibare dicenda, ut animum comparent auditoris.[3] Sed poëtae non solum hoc faciunt, quinimmo post haec invocationem quandam emittunt. Et hoc est eis conveniens, quia [h] multa invocatione opus [i] est eis, quum [j] aliquid contra [k] communem modum hominum a superioribus substantiis petendum sit [l], quasi divinum quoddam munus. Ergo praesens prologus [m] dividitur in partes duas: in [n] prima praemittitur quid dicendum sit, in secunda invocatur Apollo; et incipit secunda pars ibi: 'O bone Apollo, ad ultimum laborem',[4] etc.[o]

§ 19. Propter primam partem notandum quod ad bene exordiendum tria requiruntur, ut dicit Tullius in *Nova Rhetorica*, scilicet ut benevolum et [p] attentum et

[a] Me. *dici posset exordium*; M.[1] O. *posset exordium dici* [b] Me. *dici debet* [c] M.[1] M.[2] *quod P. in secundo R. v. i.*; V. *quod in primo Rhetorice v. i. Philosophus* [d] O. *prooemium est principium in* [e] M.[1] M.[2] *praeiuratio*; V. *deuiatio*; Me. O. *praenunciatio* [f] V. *aliter fit* [g] M.[1] M.[2] V. *concessere* [h] Me. *qua* [i] V. omits *opus* [j] Me. *quae cum*; V. *quae ceu* [k] O. *supra* [l] M.[2] Me. V. *est* [m] M.[1] M.[2] *opus* [n] M.[1] M.[2] *quia in* [o] Me. V. omit *etc.* [p] M.[2] omits *et*

[1] *Rhet.* iii. 14.

[2] I conjecture, from the readings of M.[1], M.[2], and of V., that this word (in the sense of 'preamble'), which is the reading of the *editio princeps*, is the true reading, as against the *facilior lectio* of Me. and O.

[3] Aristotle, *Rhet.* iii. 14.

[4] *Par.* i. 13.

docilem reddat aliquis auditorem; et hoc maxime in admirabili genere causae, ut ipsemet Tullius dicit.[1] Quum ergo materia circa quam versatur praesens [a] tractatus, sit admirabilis, et [b] propterea ad admirabile reducenda ista tria intenduntur in principio exordii sive prologi. Nam dicit se dicturum ea, quae qui vidit in primo coelo retinere potuit.[c] In quo dicto omnia illa tria comprehenduntur; nam in utilitate dicendorum benevolentia paratur; in admirabilitate [d] attentio; in possibilitate docilitas. Utilitatem innuit, quum recitaturum se dicit ea quae maxime [e] allectiva sunt desiderii humani, scilicet gaudia Paradisi. Admirabilitatem tangit, quum promittit se tam ardua, tam sublimia dicere, scilicet conditiones regni coelestis. Possibilitatem ostendit, quum dicit se dicturum ea [f] quae mente retinere potuit; si enim ipse [g], et alii poterunt. Haec omnia tanguntur in verbis illis ubi dicit se fuisse in primo coelo, et quod dicere vult de regno coelesti quidquid in mente sua, quasi thesaurum,

[a] Me. *primus* [b] M.[1]O. omit *et* [c] M.[2] *ea quae qui vidit in primo coelo retinere non potuit*; Me.V. *ea quae qui vidit retinere non potuit in primo coelo*; O. *ea, quae ex iis quae vidit in primo coelo retinere potuit* [d] Me. *admiratione* [e] M.[2] *maxima* [f] Me.V. omit *ea* [g] Me.V. *homo ipse*

[1] *De Inventione*, i. 15, §§ 20, 21: 'Exordium est oratio animum auditoris idonee comparans ad reliquam dictionem: quod eveniet, si eum benevolum, attentum, docilem fecerit; quare qui bene exordiri causam volet, eum necesse est genus suae causae diligenter ante cognoscere. Genera causarum sunt quinque: honestum, admirabile, humile, anceps, obscurum . . . admirabile [causae genus est], a quo alienatus est animus eorum, qui audituri sunt. . . . In admirabili genere causae, si non omnino infesti auditores erunt, principio benevolentiam comparare licebit . . .'. Cf. what Dante says on this same subject in the *Convivio*, ii. 7, ll. 53–67.

potuit retinere. Viso igitur de bonitate ac perfectione primae partis prologi, ad literam accedatur.

§ 20. Dicit ergo [a] quod 'gloria primi Motoris', qui Deus est, 'in omnibus partibus universi resplendet', sed ita ut 'in aliqua parte [b] magis, et [c] in aliqua minus'.[1] Quod autem ubique resplendeat, ratio et auctoritas [2] manifestat. Ratio sic: Omne quod est, aut habet esse a se, aut ab alio. Sed constat, quod habere esse a se non convenit nisi uni, scilicet primo, seu principio, qui Deus est, quum [d] habere esse non [e] arguat per se necesse esse [f], et per se necesse esse non competat nisi uni, scilicet primo, seu principio [g], quod est causa omnium; ergo omnia quae sunt, praeter unum ipsum [h], habent esse ab alio.[i] [3] Si ergo accipiatur ultimum [4] in universo, non [j] [5] quodcumque, manifestum est quod id habet esse ab aliquo; et illud a quo habet, a se vel ab aliquo.[k] Si a se, sic est primum; si ab aliquo, et illud similiter vel a se, vel ab aliquo [l]. Et esset sic procedere in infinitum in causis agentibus, ut probatur in secundo [m] *Metaphysi-*

[a] V. *igitur* [b] M.[1] omits *parte* [c] V. omits *et* [d] M.[1]M.[2]V.O. *Et quum* [e] Me. omits *non* [f] M.[1]M.[2] *arguat per se non necesse est* [g] V. omits *qui Deus est . . . seu principio* [h] M.[1]M.[2]V. *praeter ipsum*; Me. *praeter unum* [i] Me.V. *ab aliis* [j] O. *vel* [k] O. *ab aliquo habet* [l] M.[1]M.[2]Me. *ab aliquo et est naturaliter* [m] M.[1]M.[2]Me.V. *tertio*

[1] *Par.* i. 1–3.

[2] Cf. *Epist.* iii (iv). 25–7; Moore (*Studies*, iii. 325) also compares *Par.* xxiv. 133–8; xxvi. 25–6, 46–7; *Mon.* i. 5, ll. 11, 20–1; ii. 1, ll. 60–4; iii. 16, ll. 63–71.

[3] Moore compares *Conv.* iv. 18, ll. 13–22. On the passage in the text, see Biagi, in *Bull. Soc. Dant. Ital.*, N.S. xvi. 35.

[4] That is, the furthest removed from the first cause.

[5] This is the reading of all four MSS., and, as Biagi argues (*loc. cit.*), is manifestly right—'if we take, not anything whatsoever, but that thing which is the most remote in the universe'.

corum.[1] Et sic erit devenire [a] ad primum, qui Deus est. Et sic, mediate vel immediate, omne quod est habet esse [b] ab Eo; quia ex eo quod causa secunda recipit [c] a prima, influit super causatum ad modum recipientis et repercutientis [d 2] radium, propter quod causa prima est magis causa.[e] Et hoc dicitur in libro *De Causis*, quod 290 'omnis causa primaria plus influit super suum causatum, quam causa universalis secunda'.[3] Sed hoc quantum ad esse.

§ 21. Quantum vero ad essentiam, probo sic: Omnis essentia, praeter primam, est causata; aliter [f] essent [g] 295 plura quae essent [h] per se necesse esse, quod [i] est impossibile. Quia [j] causatum [k] est [l] vel a natura [m] vel ab

[a] M.[1]M.[2]Me. *Metaphysicorum erit devenire*; O. *Metaphysicorum. Quod quum sit impossibile, erit d.* [b] Me.V. *omne quod habet esse, habet esse* [c] M.[1]M.[2]O. *recepit* [d] M.[1]M.[2]Me.V. *respicientis*; O. *respuentis* [e] Me.V. *causa prima magis* [f] Me.V. *alias* [g] M.[1] *esse* [h] M.[2] *esse* [i] M.[1]O. *necesse quod*; M.[2] *necesse est quod* [j] O. *Quod* [k] Me. *causata* [l] M.[2]Me.V. omit *est* [m] O. *a natura est*

[1] *Metaphys.* ii. 2 (*ad init.*). There is no MS. authority for the words introduced here in the Oxford text, which are an interpolation of Giuliani.

[2] For *respicientis*, the reading of all four MSS., which is manifestly wrong, Fraticelli substituted *respuentis* (as in O.), and Torri and Giuliani *rejicientis*. But it is a question here, not of rejection, still less of violent rejection, but of reflection. I have little doubt that *repercutientis* (in MSS. *repcutiẽtis*) is the right reading; Dante frequently uses *ripercuotere* of reflected light; cf. *Conv.* ii. 14, l. 75; 15, l. 57; iii. 14, l. 48; iv. 20, l. 78; and especially iii. 14, ll. 35–7, where Dante is discussing (as here) the transmission of the influence of the celestial Intelligences: 'Nelle Intelligenze raggia la divina luce senza mezzo, nell' altre [cose] si ripercuote da queste Intelligenze prima illuminate' (cf. what Dante says in § 21, ll. 400–4, of this letter); so also Virgil, *Aen.* viii. 23: 'lumen repercussum'; and Ovid, *Metam.* ii. 110: 'repercusso Phoebo'.

[3] *Prop.* i, *init.*

intellectu; et quod [a] a natura est [b], per consequens causatum est ab intellectu, quum natura sit opus intelligentiae. Omne ergo quod est causatum, est causatum [c] ab aliquo intellectu [d] mediate [e] vel immediate. Quum ergo virtus sequatur essentiam cuius est virtus, si essentia intellectiva, est tota [1] et unius [f] quae [g] causat. Et sic quemadmodum prius devenire erat ad primam causam ipsius esse, sic nunc essentiae et virtutis. Propter [h] quod patet quod omnis essentia et virtus procedat [i] a prima, et intelligentiae inferiores recipiant quasi a radiante, et reddant radios superioris ad suum inferius, ad modum speculorum.[2] Quod satis aperte tangere videtur Dionysius [3] de coelesti hierarchia loquens.[4] Et propter hoc

[a] M.[1]M.[2] *quo* [b] M.V. omit *est* [c] Me. omits *est causatum* [d] V. omits *quum natura sit opus . . . intellectu* [e] Me. *uel mediate* [f] O. *si essentia sit intellectiva, virtus tota est unius* [g] Me. *quo* [h] V. *per* [i] Me.V. *procedit*

[1] There is no authority for the interpolated *virtus* in O., which is due to Giuliani.

[2] Cf. *Conv.* iii. 14, ll. 35–7, quoted in note 2 on p. 183.

[3] Dionysius the Areopagite; cf. *Epist.* viii. 117, and note. Dionysius is placed by Dante in the Heaven of the Sun, among the great doctors of the Church, *Par.* x. 115–17: 'quel cero Che, giuso in carne, più addentro vide L'angelica natura e il ministero'.

[4] *Coelest. Hier.* iii, § 2: 'Pulchritudo divina ut simplex, ut bona, ut perfectionis autor pura quidem est, nullamque prorsus admixtionem dissimilitudinis suscipit. Verum singulos pro meritis lucis suae participes facit; et sacrosancto mysterio perficit, quantum quisque initiatus congrue illius in se immutabilem exprimere effigiem nititur. Est ergo sacratissimi huius functionis intentio, Deo quantum fieri potest similem evadere, unumque cum illo fieri. Quae profecto destinatio Deum ipsum habet totius sacratioris scientiae et actionis praeceptorem; inque illius augustissimam speciem intenta semper ac firmiter, atque ad illam se pro virium modo componens. Eos etiam qui secum divina sectantur, Dei signa et imagines efficit, ac perlucida specula et omni labe

dicitur in libro *De Causis* quod 'omnis intelligentia est plena formis'.[1] Patet ergo quomodo ratio manifestat divinum lumen, id est divinam bonitatem, sapientiam et virtutem,[2] resplendere ubique.

§ 22. Similiter etiam ac scientius [a 3] facit auctoritas. Dicit enim Spiritus Sanctus per Hieremiam [4]: 'Numquid non [b] coelum et terram ego impleo?' et in *Psalmo* [c 5]: 'Quo ibo a spiritu tuo? et quo a facie tua fugiam? Si ascendero in coelum, tu illic es; si descendero in infernum, ades. Si sumpsero pennas meas' etc. Et *Sapientia* [6] dicit [d] quod 'Spiritus Domini replevit orbem terrarum'. Et *Ecclesiasticus* [e] in [f] quadragesimo secundo [7]: 'Gloria Domini plenum est opus eius'. Quod etiam scriptura paganorum contestatur; nam [g] Lucanus in nono [8]: 'Iuppiter est quodcumque vides, quocumque [h] moveris'.

§ 23. Bene ergo dictum est, quum dicit quod divinus [i] radius, seu [j] divina gloria, 'per universum penetrat et

[a] O. *scientia* [b] Me.V. omit *Numquid non* [c] V. *psalmo cxxxviii* [d] M.[2] *dicitur* [e] Me.V.O.[1]O.[2] *Ecclesiastes*; M.[1]M.[2] *Ecclesiastici* [f] M.[1] M.[2]Me.V. omit *in* [g] Me.V. *unde* [h] Me. *quod cumque* [i] M.[1]M.[2] *dictum quod divinus* [j] Me.V. *siue*

pura, dignaque quibus principalis illius ac divinae lucis suavissimus radius influat. Quae ubi indultum sibi sacratissimum iubar affatim hauserint, hoc ipsa postmodum absque invidia sequentibus fundunt.'

[1] *Prop.* x, *init.*

[2] That is, the Holy Trinity; cf. *Inf.* iii. 5–6; and see Moore, *Studies*, iii. 334.

[3] This, the reading of all the MSS., is obviously right as against *scientia*, Witte's emendation. Not '*scientia* et auctoritas' are in question, but '*ratio* et auctoritas' (§ 20, ll. 353, 354).

[4] *Jerem.* xxiii. 24.

[5] *Psalm* cxxxix (Vulg. cxxxviii). 7–9.

[6] *Wisd.* i. 7. [7] *Ecclus.* xlii. 16. [8] *Phars.* ix. 580.

resplendet': penetrat quantum ad essentiam; resplendet[a] quantum ad esse. Quod autem subicit[b] de magis et minus habet veritatem in manifesto, quoniam videmus in aliquo excellentiori gradu essentiam aliquam, aliquam vero in inferiori[c]; ut patet de coelo et elementis, quorum quidem illud incorruptibile, illa vero corruptibilia sunt.[1]

§ 24. Et postquam[d] praemisit hanc veritatem, prosequitur ab ea, circumloquens Paradisum; et dicit quod fuit in coelo illo quod de gloria Dei[e], sive de luce, recipit affluentius.[2] Propter quod sciendum quod illud coelum[f] est coelum supremum, continens corpora universa, et a nullo contentum,[3] intra quod omnia corpora[g] moventur (ipso in sempiterna quiete permanente),[4] a[h] nulla corporali substantia virtutem recipiens.[5] Et dicitur[i] empyreum, quod est idem quod coelum igne sive ardore[j] flagrans[6]; non quod in eo sit ignis vel ardor materialis, sed spiritualis, qui[k] est amor sanctus, sive caritas.[7]

[a] V. omits *penetrat quantum . . . resplendet* [b] M.[1] M.[2] *subiici* [c] M.[1] *videmus in aliquo excellentiori gradu essentiam aliquam aliqua vero in inferiori*; M.[2] Me. V. *v. in a. e. g. essentiam aliquam vero in i.*; O. *videmus aliquid in excellentiori gradu esse, aliquid vero in inferiori* [d] M.[1] M.[2] *priusquam* [e] V. *Domini* [f] V. omits *coelum* [g] V. omits *corpora* [h] M.[1] M.[2] *moventur ipso in sempiterna quiete permanente vita* (M.[2] *vitas*) *et omnia sua contenta et a*; Me. *m. in primo s. q. p. vitas et omnia sua contenta et a*; V. *m. in prima s. q. p. a* [i] Me. *dicit* [j] M.[1] *seu ardore*; Me. V. *sui ardoris* [k] Me. V. *quod*

[1] In illustration of the doctrine expounded in this section Giuliani and Moore (*Studies*, iii. 335) refer to *Par.* xxxi. 22–3; *Conv.* iii. 7, ll. 15–16; 14, ll. 14–28; iv. 21, ll. 47–8; *V. E.* i. 16, ll. 48–52.

[2] *Par.* i. 4–5: 'Nel ciel che più della sua luce prende Fu' io'.

[3] Cf. *Conv.* ii. 4, ll. 35–7.

[4] Cf. *Conv.* ii. 4, ll. 17–19, 25, 28; 15, ll. 165–7; *Par.* i. 122; ii. 112.

[5] Cf. *Par.* xxx. 39.

[6] Cf. *Conv.* ii. 4, ll. 14–16.

[7] Cf. *Purg.* xxvi. 63.

§ 25. Quod autem de divina luce plus recipiat, potest probari per duo. Primo per suum omnia continere et a nullo contineri; secundo per sempiternam suam [a] quietem sive pacem. Quantum ad primum probatur sic: Continens se habet ad contentum in naturali situ, sicut formativum [b] ad formabile, ut habetur in [c] quarto *Physicorum*.[1] Sed in naturali situ totius universi primum coelum est omnia continens; ergo se habet ad omnia sicut formativum [d] ad formabile [e]; quod est se habere per modum causae. Et quum omnis vis causandi sit radius quidam profluens [f] a prima causa, quae Deus est,[2] manifestum est quod illud coelum quod magis habet rationem causae,[3] magis de luce divina recipit.

§ 26. Quantum ad secundum probatur sic: Omne quod movetur, movetur propter aliquid quod non habet, quod est terminus [g] sui motus; sicut coelum lunae movetur propter aliquam partem sui, quae non habet illud ubi ad quod movetur; et quia sui pars quaelibet non adepto quolibet [h] ubi (quod [i] est impossibile [j]) movetur [k] ad aliud, inde est quod semper movetur et nunquam quiescit, et [l] est eius appetitus. Et quod dico de coelo

[a] M.[1] M.[2] omit *suam* [b] M.[1] M.[2] Me. V. *formatum* [c] M.[1] M.[2] Me. V. omit *in* [d] M.[2] V. *formatuum* [e] Witte notes (what Boffito overlooks) that one of the Magliabechi texts (M.[1] or M.[2]) omits *ut habetur quarto . . . ad formabile* [f] Me. V. *influens* [g] V. *terminum* [h] Me. *et quia sui pars quaelibet eius pars adepto*; V. *quamlibet eius partem ademptam esse quolibet*; O. *et quia pars quaelibet eius non adepto quolibet* [i] Me. omits *quod* [j] V. *impossibile est* [k] V. *ideo movetur* [l] O. *ut*

[1] *Phys.* iv. 4.

[2] For this theory that celestial influences are conveyed by means of the rays of light of the several heavenly bodies, Moore (*Studies*, iii. 325) compares *Conv.* ii. 7, ll. 90 ff.; iii. 14, ll. 32 ff.; and *Purg.* xxv. 89; *Par.* vii. 74; viii. 2–3; xix. 90; xxix. 29.

[3] Cf. *Mon.* i. 11, ll. 129–30; and see Moore, *Studies*, iii. 333.

lunae, intelligendum est de omnibus praeter primum. Omne ergo quod movetur, est in aliquo defectu, et non habet totum suum esse simul. Illud igitur [a] coelum quod a nullo movetur, in se et [b] in qualibet sui parte habet quid- 370
quid potest modo perfecto, ita quod [c] motu non indiget ad suam perfectionem. Et quum omnis perfectio sit radius Primi, quod est in summo gradu perfectionis, manifestum est quod coelum primum magis recipit de luce Primi, qui est Deus. Ista [d] tamen ratio videtur arguere ad destruc- 375
tionem antecedentis,[1] ita quod [e] simpliciter et secundum formam arguendi non probat. Sed si consideremus materiam eius, bene probat, quia de quodam sempiterno, in quo posset [f] defectus sempiternari: ita quod [g], si Deus non dedit sibi [h] motum, patet quod non dedit sibi [i] 380
materiam [j] in aliquo egentem. Et per hanc [k] suppositionem tenet argumentum ratione materiae; et similis modus arguendi est [l] ac si diceremus [m]: si homo est, est risibile [n 2]; nam in omnibus convertibilibus tenet similis ratio gratia materiae. Sic ergo patet quod [o] quum 385
dicit, 'in illo coelo quod plus de luce Dei [p] recipit', intelligit circumloqui Paradisum, sive coelum empyreum.[3]

[a] Me. *ergo* [b] Me.V. omit *et* [c] V. *itaque*; O. *eo quod* [d] M.[2] *ita* [e] V. *itaque*; O. *eo quod* [f] Me. *potest* [g] O. *itaque* [h] O. *illi* [i] O. *illi* [j] M.[1]M.[2]V. *naturam* [k] M.[2] *et hanc* [l] Me.V. *et est similis modus arguendi* [m] M.[1]M.[2]Me.O. *dicerem* [n] M.[1]M.[2] *visibile*; V.O. *risibilis* [o] M.[2]Me.V. omit *quod* [p] M.[1] *rei*

[1] Moore (*Studies*, iii. 330) compares *Conv.* iv. 12, ll. 123–4; *Mon.* ii. 12, l. 60; *A.T.* § 12, ll. 1–2; § 13, ll. 1–2; and *Conv.* iv. 14, ll. 11–12.

[2] Cf. Arist., *Part. Anim.* iii. 10; and *V.E.* ii. 1, ll. 42–4. The evidence of three (Me. M.[1] M.[2]) out of the four MSS. points to the neuter.

[3] On the argument employed in this section, which Moore describes as 'both obscure and highly technical', see his *Studies*, iii. 328–30.

§ 27. Praemissis quoque rationibus consequenter[a] dicit Philosophus in primo *De Coelo*,[1] quod[b] coelum 'tanto[c] habet honorabiliorem materiam[d] istis[e] inferio- 390
ribus, quanto magis elongatum est ab his quae hic'[f 2]. Adhuc etiam[g] posset adduci quod dicit Apostolus ad Ephesios de Christo: 'Qui ascendit super omnes coelos, ut impleret[h] omnia'.[3] Hoc est coelum deliciarum
Domini; de quibus deliciis dicitur contra Luciferum per 395
Ezechielem: 'Tu signaculum similitudinis, sapientia plenus et perfectione decorus,[i 4] in deliciis Paradisi Dei[j] fuisti'.[5]

§ 28. Et postquam dixit quod fuit in loco illo Paradisi per suam circumlocutionem, prosequitur dicens se 400
vidisse aliqua quae recitare non potest qui descendit.[6] Et reddit causam, dicens quod 'intellectus in tantum

[a] Me. *consonanter uel consequenter*; O. *consonanter* [b] Me.V. *ubi dicit quod* [c] V. *tantum* [d] V. *materiam honorabiliorem* [e] O. *suis* [f] Me.O. *hic sunt* [g] M.[1] M.[2] *et* [h] Me.V. *adimpleret* [i] O. *perfectus decore* [j] Me. *Dei Paradisi*

[1] *De Coelo*, i. 2. Moore (*Studies*, iii. 330) compares *Conv.* iii. 5, ll. 38 ff.; *A. T.* § 4, ll. 1–7; § 23, ll. 14 ff.; also *Conv.* ii. 4, ll. 32–4; for the principle here enunciated.

[2] This, the reading of M.[1] M.[2] V., is confirmed by the text of the *Antiqua Translatio* of the *De Coelo* from which Dante is here quoting: '. . . tanto honorabiliorem habens naturam, quanto quidem plus elongatum est ab his quae hic'. [3] *Ephes.* iv. 10.

[4] This, the reading of all four MSS., has been altered by the editors so as to make the quotation conform to the text of the Vulgate as we have it.

[5] *Ezek.* xxviii. 12–13; cf. *Inf.* xxxiv. 34; *Purg.* xii. 25–6; *Par.* xix. 46–8. The application of this prophecy of Ezekiel against 'the prince of Tyre' to Lucifer was, as Moore points out (*Studies*, iii. 341–2), a common patristic interpretation.

[6] *Par.* i. 5–6: 'vidi cose che ridire Nè sa, nè può chi di lassù discende'.

profundat se' in ipsum desiderium suum, quod est Deus [a], 'quod memoria sequi non potest'.[1] Ad quae intelligenda sciendum est, quod intellectus humanus in hac vita, propter connaturalitatem et affinitatem quam habet ad substantiam intellectualem separatam,[2] quando elevatur, in tantum elevatur ut memoria post reditum deficiat, propter transcendisse humanum modum. Et hoc [b] insinuatur nobis per Apostolum ad Corinthios [3] loquentem, ubi dicit: 'Scio hominem [c] (sive in corpore [d], sive extra corpus, nescio, Deus scit), raptum usque ad tertium coelum,[e] et audivit arcana verba,[f] quae non licet homini loqui'.[4] Ecce, postquam [g] humanam rationem intellectus ascensione [h] transierat, quae [i] extra se agerentur [j] non recordabatur. Hoc etiam [k] est insinua-

[a] V. omits *in ipsum . . . quod est Deus* [b] M.[1] omits *hoc* [c] O. *huiusmodi hominem* [d] V. *corpus* [e] O. *quoniam raptus est in Paradisum* [f] Me.V. *vidit arcana verba*; M.[1] *vidit arcana Dei* [g] V. *per quam*; M.[1] *per quem* [h] M.[1]V. *ascensionem*; Me. *ascensio* [i] Me.V. *qui* [j] Me. V. *ageretur* [k] Me. *et hoc*

[1] *Par.* i. 7–9: 'Perchè, appressando sè al suo disire, Nostro intelletto si profonda tanto, Che retro la memoria non può ire'.

[2] That is, the angels; cf. *Conv.* ii. 5, l. 6: 'sustanze separate' (so iii. 7, l. 47; 8, l. 143); *Conv.* iii. 4, l. 92: 'sustanze partite da materia'; *Purg.* xviii. 49: 'forma sustanzial, che setta È da materia'

[3] 2 *Cor.* xii. 2–4.

[4] Here again the modern Vulgate text has been substituted for the MS. reading by the editors. If the MS. reading (with the correction of *audivit* for *vidit*) represents what Dante wrote, he must have been quoting from memory, several of the phrases of the original being transposed in the quotation; the actual Vulgate text of 2 *Cor.* xii. 2–4 is: 'Scio hominem in Christo ante annos quatuordecim (sive in corpore nescio, sive extra corpus nescio, Deus scit), raptum huiusmodi usque ad tertium coelum. Et scio huiusmodi hominem (sive in corpore, sive extra corpus, nescio, Deus scit), quoniam raptus est in paradisum, et audivit arcana verba, quae non licet homini loqui.'

tum [a] nobis in Matthaeo,[1] ubi tres discipuli ceciderunt
550 in faciem suam, nihil postea recitantes, quasi obliti. Et
in Ezechiele [2] scribitur : ' Vidi et cecidi in faciem meam '.
Et ubi ista invidis non sufficiant, legant Richardum [b] de 420
sancto Victore [3] in libro *De Contemplatione* [4] ; legant
555 Bernardum [5] in libro *De Consideratione* [6] ; legant Augu-

[a] M.[1]V. *insinuatur* [b] O. *Ricardum*

[1] *Matt.* xvii. 1–8. [2] *Ezek.* i. 28 (*Vulg.* ii. 1).

[3] Richard of St. Victor, chief of the mystics of Cent. xii, is placed by Dante among the great doctors of the Church in the Heaven of the Sun, *Par.* x. 131–2 : 'Riccardo, Che a considerar fu più che viro'.

[4] Otherwise known as *Beniamin maior* (see Gardner, *Dante and the Mystics*, pp. 43 n., 165) : 'Cum enim per mentis excessum supra sive intra nosmetipsos in divinorum contemplationem rapimur, exteriorum omnium statim imo non solum eorum quae extra nos, verum etiam eorum quae in nobis sunt omnium obliviscimur. Et item cum ab illo sublimitatis statu ad nosmetipsos redimus, illa quae prius supra nosmetipsos vidimus in ea veritate vel claritate qua prius perspeximus ad nostram memoriam revocare omnino non possumus. Et quamvis inde aliquid in memoria teneamus, et quasi per medium velum et velut in medio nebulae videamus, nec modum quidem videndi, nec qualitatem visionis comprehendere, vel recordari sufficimus. Et mirum in modum reminiscentes non reminiscimur, et non reminiscentes reminiscimur, dum videntes non pervidemus, et aspicientes non perspicimus, et intendentes non penetramus' (iv. 23).

[5] St. Bernard of Clairvaux, 'il santo sene' of *Par.* xxxi. 94 ; 'quel contemplante', *Par.* xxxii. 1 ; Dante's guide when Beatrice leaves him.

[6] Written towards the close of St. Bernard's life, between 1149 and 1153, and dedicated to Eugenius III (see Gardner, *Dante and the Mystics*, pp. 123 ff.). Dante apparently refers to the following passage : 'At omnium maximus [viator], qui spreto ipso usu rerum et sensuum, quantum quidem humanae fragilitati fas est, non ascensoriis gradibus, sed inopinatis excessibus avolare interdum contemplando ad illa sublimia consuevit. Ad hoc ultimum genus illos pertinere reor excessus Pauli' (v. 2, § 3).

stinum[1] in libro *De Quantitate Animae*,[2] et non invidebunt.[a] Si vero in dispositionem elevationis tantae propter[b] peccatum loquentis oblatrarent[c][3], legant Danielem, ubi et Nabuchodonosor invenient contra peccatores aliqua vidisse divinitus, oblivionique mandasse.[4] Nam 'Qui oriri solem suum facit super bonos et malos, et pluit super iustos et iniustos',[5] aliquando misericorditer[d] ad conversionem[e], aliquando severe ad punitionem, plus et minus, ut vult, gloriam suam quantumcumque male viventibus manifestat.

§ 29. Vidit ergo, ut dicit, aliqua 'quae referre nescit et nequit rediens'[6]. Diligenter quippe notandum est

[a] Me. *et non invideant alias et non invidebunt* [b] M.[1] *per* [c] Me. *oblaterent* [d] Me. *misericorditus* [e] V. omits *ad conversionem*

[1] St. Augustine, whom Dante places in the Celestial Rose in the Empyrean, *Par.* xxxii. 35; cf. *Epist.* viii. 116, and note.

[2] A short work, in the form of a dialogue, written c. 388, within two years of St. Augustine's conversion (see Gardner, *op. cit.*, pp. 44 ff.). Dante seems to have had in mind the following passage: 'Iam vero in ipsa visione atque contemplatione veritatis, quae septimus atque ultimus animae gradus est (neque iam gradus, sed quaedam mansio, quo illis gradibus pervenitur), quae sint gaudia, quae perfruitio summi et veri boni, cuius serenitatis atque aeternitatis afflatus, quid ego dicam? Dixerunt haec quantum dicenda esse iudicaverunt, magnae quaedam et incomparabiles animae, quas etiam vidisse ac videre ista credimus. Illud plane ego nunc audeo tibi dicere, nos si cursum quem nobis Deus imperat, et quem tenendum suscepimus, constantissime tenuerimus, perventuros per Virtutem Dei atque Sapientiam ad summam illam Causam, vel summum Auctorem, vel summum Principium rerum omnium . . .' (xxxiii. 76). On Dante's collocation of these three mystical writers, see Gardner, *op. cit.*, pp. 42–3.

[3] Cf. the similar use of *latrare* in *Conv.* iv. 3, l. 59.

[4] *Dan.* ii. 3–5. On Dante's interpretation of this passage, see Moore, *Studies*, iii. 342.

[5] *Matt.* v. 45.

[6] *Par.* i. 6.

quod dicit 'nescit et nequit'. Nescit quia[a] oblitus, nequit quia, si[b] recordatur[c] et contentum[d] tenet, sermo tamen deficit. Multa namque per intellectum videmus,[e] quibus signa vocalia desunt; quod satis Plato insinuat in suis libris per assumptionem metaphorismorum, multa enim per lumen intellectuale vidit quae sermone proprio nequivit exprimere.

§ 30. Postea dicit se dicturum illa quae de regno coelesti retinere potuit; et hoc dicit esse materiam sui operis; quae qualia sint et quanta, in parte executiva patebit.

§ 31. Deinde quum dicit: 'O bone Apollo',[1] etc.,[f] facit invocationem suam. Et dividitur ista pars in partes duas: in prima invocando petit; in secunda suadet Apollini petitionem factam, remunerationem quandam praenuntians[g]; et incipit secunda pars ibi: 'O divina virtus'.[2] Prima pars dividitur in partes duas: in prima petit divinum auxilium; in secunda tangit necessitatem suae petitionis, quod est iustificare ipsam ibi[h]: 'Hucusque alterum iugum Parnassi',[3] etc.[i]

§ 32. Haec est sententia secundae partis prologi in generali: in speciali vero non exponam ad praesens. Urget[j] enim me rei familiaris angustia, ut[k] haec et alia utilia rei publicae[4] derelinquere[l] oporteat. Sed spero de Magnificentia vestra, ut[m] alias[n] habeatur[o] procedendi ad utilem expositionem facultas.

[a] Me. *qui* [b] V. *et si* [c] Me. *recordatus* [d] V. *conceptum* [e] V. *videmus per intellectum* [f] Me. omits *etc.* [g] Me. *pronuntians* [h] O. *ipsam; et incipit ibi* [i] Me. omits *etc.* [j] Me. *urguit* [k] V. *ita ut* [l] V. *omittere* [m] M.[1] *ita ut* [n] M.[1] *aliter* [o] M.[1] *habetur*

[1] *Par.* i. 13 ff.
[2] *Par.* i. 22 ff.
[3] *Par.* i. 16 ff.
[4] Cf. *Mon.* i. 1, ll. 16–17.

§ 33. De[a] parte vero[b] executiva, quae fuit divisa iuxta[c] totum prologum, nec dividendo [1] nec sententiando quidquam[d] dicetur ad praesens; nisi hoc, quod ibi[e] procedetur ascendendo de coelo in coelum, et recitabitur[f] de[g] animabus beatis inventis in[h] quolibet orbe, et quod[i] vera illa[j] beatitudo in sentiendo[k] veritatis principium[l] consistit[2]; ut patet per Iohannem[3] ibi: 'Haec est vita aeterna[m] [4], ut cognoscant te Deum verum', etc.; et per Boëtium in tertio *De Consolatione*[5] ibi: 'Te cernere finis'. Inde est quod ad ostendendum[n] gloriam beatitudinis in illis animabus, ab eis, tamquam videntibus omnem veritatem,[6] multa quaerentur[o] quae magnam habent utilitatem et delectationem.[7] Et quia, invento principio seu primo, videlicet Deo, nihil est quod ulterius quaeratur, quum sit Alpha et O[p] [8], idest principium et

[a] M.[1]V. *in* [b] V. omits *vero* [c] M.[1]Me. *contra* [d] Me. *quocq̄* [e] M.[1]V. *ubi*; Me. *ubique* [f] M.[1]Me.V. *recitatur* [g] M.[1]Me.V. *in* [h] V. *et* [i] M.[1]V. *qua*; Me. *quia* [j] Me.V. *illa vera* [k] M.[1]Me.V. *sententiae* [l] M.[1]Me.V. *principio* [m] M.[2]O. *vera beatitudo* [n] V. *ostendendam* [o] M.[1]Me. *quaeruntur* [p] V. *Alpha et Omega*; M.[1]M.[2] *A O*; Me. *A et ω*; O. *A et O*

[1] Cf. Dante's similar practice of 'dividing' the poems of the *Vita Nuova* and *Convivio* for the purposes of his commentary on them; e.g. *V. N.* § 3, ll. 91–5; § 7, ll. 38–49; § 8, ll. 35–44, &c.; and *Conv.* ii. 2, ll. 58–74; 13, ll. 75–7 (where 'non è qui mestiere di procedere dividendo, e a lettera sponendo' corresponds exactly to the phrase 'nec dividendo nec sententiando' in the text); iii. 1, ll. 100–11; iv. 2, ll. 1–19; 3, ll. 2–17, &c.

[2] Moore (*Studies*, iii. 331) compares *Par.* xxviii. 106–11; and xiv. 40–2.

[3] *John* xvii. 3.

[4] This is the reading of the Vulgate, and of three MSS. (M[1]. Me. V.) out of the four.

[5] *Cons. Phil.* iii. *met.* 9.

[6] On this attribute of the glorified spirits of 'seeing all things in God', see Moore, *Studies*, iii. 332.

[7] Moore (*Studies*, iii. 298) compares *Conv.* iv. 4, ll. 136–7.

[8] Dante, though he was probably ignorant of the Greek charac-

finis, ut visio Iohannis designat,[1] in ipso Deo terminatur tractatus, qui est benedictus in saecula saeculorum [a].

[a] M.[1]M.[2]V. add *Explicit Epistola Dantis*

Translation

To the magnificent and most victorious Lord, the Lord Can Grande della Scala, Vicar-General of the most holy principality of Caesar in the city of Verona, and town of Vicenza, his most devoted servant, Dante Alighieri, a Florentine by birth, not by disposition, prayeth long and happy life, and perpetual increase of the glory of his name.

§ 1. The illustrious renown of your Magnificence, which wakeful Fame spreads abroad as she flies, affects divers

ters, certainly was acquainted with the name *alpha*, as is proved by *Par.* xxvi. 17; but there is no evidence that he was acquainted with the word *omega*, though (if the editors are to be trusted) it occurs in some of the early commentaries on the *Commedia* (e. g. in Jacopo della Lana, Ottimo Comento, Pietro di Dante, Benvenuto da Imola, Buti, and Anonimo Fiorentino). Of three MSS. of the Vulgate consulted in the Bodleian two (*Laud Lat. 8*, of Cent. xii; and *Laud Lat. 9*, of Cent. xiii) have 'alpha et ω' in *Rev.* i. 8; xxi. 6; xxii. 13; while the third (*Laud Lat. 10*, of Cent. xiii) has 'α et ω'. The word was unknown to Évrard de Béthune, who in his *Graecismus* registers, not *omicron* and *omega*, but *otomicron* and *otomega* (i. e. ὃ τὸ μικρόν and ὃ τὸ μέγα): 'Quodque *micros* breve sit comprobat *otomicron*' (viii. 211); 'Quartaque vocalis *oto* sit, fit ab hoc *otomega*' (viii. 232). Similarly, Giovanni da Genova in his *Catholicon* says (s. v. *Otomega*): '*Micros* interpretatur brevis sive minor. Et componitur cum *oto* quod est apud grecos nomen istius elementi *o*; et dicitur *otomicron*, quasi minor *o*, quo nomine vocant hoc elementum *o* quum breviatur, et figuram illius representativam sic factam *o*; quum vero producitur vocant illud elementum, et illius representativam figuram sic factam *ω*, *otomega*, quasi *o* longa, ab *oto* quod est *o*, et *mega* vel *megalon* quod est longum.' It should be noted that under *Alpha* Giovanni da Genova, in quoting *Rev.* i. 8, writes: 'ego sum alpha et o, principium et finis'; and that Dante himself in *Par.* xxvi. 17 writes, not 'Alfa ed Omega', but 'Alfa ed O'.

[1] *Rev.* i. 8; xxi. 6; xxii. 13.

persons in divers ways, so that some it uplifts with the hope of good fortune, while others it casts down with the dread of destruction. The report whereof, overtopping all deeds of recent times, I erstwhile did deem extravagant, as going beyond the appearance of truth. But that continued uncertainty might not keep me longer in suspense, even as the Queen of the South sought Jerusalem, and as Pallas sought Helicon, so did I seek Verona, in order to examine with my own trusty eyes the things of which I had heard. And there was I witness of your splendour, there was I witness and partaker of your bounty; and whereas I had formerly suspected the reports to be somewhat unmeasured, I afterwards recognized that it was the facts themselves that were beyond measure. Whence it came to pass that whereas through hearsay alone, with a certain subjection of mind, I had previously become well disposed towards you, at the first sight of you[1] I became your most devoted servant and friend.

§ 2. Nor do I think that in assuming the name of friend I shall lay myself open to a charge of presumption, as some perchance might object; inasmuch as unequals no less than equals are united by the sacred tie of friendship. For if one should examine friendships which have been pleasant and profitable, it will be evident that in many cases the bond has been between persons of superior station and their inferiors. And if our attention be directed to true friendship for its own sake, shall we not find that the friends of illustrious and mighty princes have many a time been men obscure in condition but of distinguished virtue? Why not? since even the friendship of God and man is in no wise impeded by the disparity between them. But if any man consider this assertion unseemly, let him hearken to the Holy Spirit when it declares that certain men have been partakers of its friendship. For in *Wisdom* we read, concerning

[1] 'Ex visu primordii', for 'ex visus primordio' (see Torri, *op. cit.* p. 108, n. 13). Foscolo (*Discorso sul Testo del Poema di Dante*, p. 178) and Fraticelli render 'al primo vedervi'; Passerini, 'al primo conoscervi'.

wisdom: 'For she is a treasure unto men that never faileth; which they that use are made partakers of the friendship of God'. But the common herd in their ignorance judge without discernment; and even as they imagine the sun to be a foot across, so they judge with regard to questions of conduct; and they are deceived by their foolish credulity with regard to both the one and the other matter. But it does not become us, to whom it has been given to know what is best in our nature, to follow in the footsteps of the common herd; nay, rather are we bound to oppose their errors. For those who have vigour of intellect and reason, being endowed with a certain divine liberty, are not restricted by precedent. Nor is this to be wondered at, for it is not they who receive direction from the laws, but rather the laws from them. It is manifest, therefore, that what I said above, namely that I was your most devoted servant and friend, in no wise savours of presumption.

§ 3. Esteeming, then, your friendship as a most precious treasure, I desire to preserve it with assiduous forethought and anxious care. Therefore, since it is a doctrine of ethics that friendship is equalized and preserved by reciprocity, it is my wish to preserve due reciprocity in making a return for the bounty more than once conferred upon me. For which reason I have often and long examined such poor gifts as I can offer, and have set them out separately, and scrutinized each in turn, in order to decide which would be the most worthy and the most acceptable to you. And I have found nothing more suitable even for your exalted station than the sublime cantica of the *Comedy* which is adorned with the title of *Paradise*; this, then, dedicated to yourself, with the present letter to serve as its superscription, I inscribe, offer, and in fine commend to you.

§ 4. Nor does the simple ardour of my affection permit me to pass over in silence the consideration that in this offering there may seem to be greater honour and fame conferred on the patron than on the gift; the rather that in the address I shall appear to such as read with attention

to have given utterance to a forecast as to the increase of the glory of your name—and this of set purpose. But eagerness for your favour, for which I thirst, heedless of envy, will urge me forward to the goal which was my aim from the first. And so, having made an end of what I had to say in epistolary form, I will now in the capacity of commentator essay a few words by way of introduction to the work which is offered for your acceptance.

§ 5. As the Philosopher says in the second book of the *Metaphysics*, 'as a thing is in respect of being, so is it in respect of truth'; the reason of which is, that the truth concerning a thing, which consists in the truth as in its subject, is the perfect likeness of the thing as it is. Now of things which exist, some are such as to have absolute being in themselves; while others are such as to have their being dependent upon something else, by virtue of a certain relation, as being in existence at the same time, or having respect to some other thing, as in the case of correlatives, such as father and son, master and servant, double and half, the whole and part, and other similar things, in so far as they are related. Inasmuch, then, as the being of such things depends upon something else, it follows that the truth of these things likewise depends upon something else; for if the half is unknown, its double cannot be known; and so of the rest.

§ 6. If any one, therefore, is desirous of offering any sort of introduction to part of a work, it behoves him to furnish some notion of the whole of which it is a part. Wherefore I, too, being desirous of offering something by way of introduction to the above-mentioned part of the whole *Comedy*, thought it incumbent on me in the first place to say something concerning the work as a whole, in order that access to the part might be the easier and the more perfect. There are six points, then, as to which inquiry must be made at the beginning of every didactic work; namely, the subject, the author, the form, the aim, the title of the book, and the branch of philosophy to which it belongs. Now of these six points there are three in respect of which the part which I have had in mind to

address to you differs from the whole work; namely, the subject, the form, and the title; whereas in respect of the others there is no difference, as is obvious to any one who considers the matter. Consequently, in an examination of the whole, these three points must be made the subject of a separate inquiry; which being done, the way will be sufficiently clear for the introduction to the part. Later we will examine the other three points, not only with reference to the whole work, but also with reference to the particular part which is offered to you.

§ 7. For the elucidation, therefore, of what we have to say, it must be understood that the meaning of this work is not of one kind only; rather the work may be described as 'polysemous', that is, having several meanings; for the first meaning is that which is conveyed by the letter, and the next is that which is conveyed by what the letter signifies; the former of which is called literal, while the latter is called allegorical, or mystical. And for the better illustration of this method of exposition we may apply it to the following verses: 'When Israel went out of Egypt, the house of Jacob from a people of strange language; Judah was his sanctuary, and Israel his dominion'. For if we consider the letter alone, the thing signified to us is the going out of the children of Israel from Egypt in the time of Moses; if the allegory, our redemption through Christ is signified; if the moral sense, the conversion of the soul from the sorrow and misery of sin to a state of grace is signified; if the anagogical, the passing of the sanctified soul from the bondage of the corruption of this world to the liberty of everlasting glory is signified. And although these mystical meanings are called by various names, they may one and all in a general sense be termed allegorical, inasmuch as they are different (*diversi*) from the literal or historical; for the word 'allegory' is so called from the Greek *alleon*, which in Latin is *alienum* (strange) or *diversum* (different).

§ 8. This being understood, it is clear that the subject, with regard to which the alternative meanings are brought

into play, must be twofold. And therefore the subject of this work must be considered in the first place from the point of view of the literal meaning, and next from that of the allegorical interpretation. The subject, then, of the whole work, taken in the literal sense only, is the state of souls after death, pure and simple. For on and about that the argument of the whole work turns. If, however, the work be regarded from the allegorical point of view, the subject is man according as by his merits or demerits in the exercise of his free will he is deserving of reward or punishment by justice.

§ 9. And the form is twofold—the form of the treatise, and the form of the treatment. The form of the treatise is threefold, according to the threefold division. The first division is that whereby the whole work is divided into three cantiche; the second, whereby each cantica is divided into cantos; and the third, whereby each canto is divided into rhymed lines. The form or manner of treatment is poetic, fictive, descriptive, digressive, and figurative; and further, it is definitive, analytical, probative, refutative, and exemplificative.

§ 10. The title of the book is 'Here begins the *Comedy* of Dante Alighieri, a Florentine by birth, not by disposition'. For the understanding of which it must be noted that 'comedy' is so called from *comos*, a village, and *oda*, a song; whence comedy is as it were a 'rustic song'. Now comedy is a certain kind of poetical narration which differs from all others. It differs, then, from tragedy in its subject-matter, in that tragedy at the beginning is admirable and placid, but at the end or issue is foul and horrible. And tragedy is so called from *tragos*, a goat, and *oda*; as it were a 'goat-song', that is to say foul like a goat, as appears from the tragedies of Seneca. Whereas comedy begins with sundry adverse conditions, but ends happily, as appears from the comedies of Terence. And for this reason it is the custom of some writers in their salutation to say by way of greeting: 'a tragic beginning and a comic ending to you!' Tragedy and comedy differ likewise in their style of language; for that of tragedy is

high-flown and sublime, while that of comedy is unstudied and lowly. And this is implied by Horace in the *Art of Poetry*, where he grants that the comedian may on occasion use the language of tragedy, and vice versa:

> Yet sometimes comedy her voice will raise,
> And angry Chremes scold with swelling phrase;
> And prosy periods oft our ears assail
> When Telephus and Peleus tell their tragic tale.

And from this it is clear that the present work is to be described as a comedy. For if we consider the subject-matter, at the beginning it is horrible and foul, as being *Hell*; but at the close it is happy, desirable, and pleasing, as being *Paradise*. As regards the style of language, the style is unstudied and lowly, as being in the vulgar tongue, in which even women-folk hold their talk. And hence it is evident why the work is called a comedy. And there are other kinds of poetical narration, such as the pastoral poem, the elegy, the satire, and the votive song, as may also be gathered from Horace in the *Art of Poetry*; but of these we need say nothing at present.

§ 11. It can now be shown in what manner the subject of the part offered to you is to be determined. For if the subject of the whole work taken in the literal sense is the state of souls after death, pure and simple, without limitation; it is evident that in this part the same state is the subject, but with a limitation, namely the state of blessed souls after death. And if the subject of the whole work from the allegorical point of view is man according as by his merits or demerits in the exercise of his free will he is deserving of reward or punishment by justice, it is evident that in this part this subject has a limitation, and that it is man according as by his merits he is deserving of reward by justice.

§ 12. In like manner the form of the part is determined by that of the whole work. For if the form of the treatise as a whole is threefold, in this part it is twofold only, the division being that of the cantica and of the cantos. The first division (into canticheˆ) cannot be applicable to the

form of the part, since the cantica is itself a part under the first division.

§ 13. The title of the book also is clear. For the title of the whole book is 'Here begins the *Comedy*', &c., as above; but the title of the part is 'Here begins the third cantica of the *Comedy* of Dante, which is called *Paradise*'.

§ 14. These three points, in which the part differs from the whole, having been examined, we may now turn our attention to the other three, in respect of which there is no difference between the part and the whole. The author, then, of the whole and of the part is the person mentioned above, who is seen to be such throughout.

§ 15. The aim of the whole and of the part might be manifold; as, for instance, immediate and remote. But leaving aside any minute examination of this question, it may be stated briefly that the aim of the whole and of the part is to remove those living in this life from a state of misery, and to bring them to a state of happiness.

§ 16. The branch of philosophy to which the work is subject, in the whole as in the part, is that of morals or ethics; inasmuch as the whole as well as the part was conceived, not for speculation, but with a practical object. For if in certain parts or passages the treatment is after the manner of speculative philosophy, that is not for the sake of speculation, but for a practical purpose; since, as the Philosopher says in the second book of the *Metaphysics*: 'practical men occasionally speculate on things in their particular and temporal relations'.[1]

§ 17. Having therefore premised these matters, we may now apply ourselves to the exposition of the literal meaning, by way of sample; as to which it must first be understood that the exposition of the letter is in effect but a demonstration of the form of the work. The part in question then, that is, this third cantica which is called *Paradise*, falls by its main division into two parts, namely the prologue, and the executive part; which second part begins:

Surge ai mortali per diverse foci.

[1] See note on this passage, p. 179, n. 3.

§ 18. As regards the first part, it should be noted that although in common parlance it might be termed an exordium, yet, properly speaking, it can only be termed a prologue; as the Philosopher seems to indicate in the third book of his *Rhetoric*, where he says that 'the proem in a rhetorical oration answers to the prologue in poetry, and to the prelude in flute-playing'. It must further be observed that this preamble, which may ordinarily be termed an exordium, is one thing in the hands of a poet, and another in those of an orator. For orators are wont to give a forecast of what they are about to say, in order to gain the attention of their hearers. Now poets not only do this, but in addition they make use of some sort of invocation afterwards. And this is fitting in their case, for they have need of invocation in a large measure, inasmuch as they have to petition the superior beings for something beyond the ordinary range of human powers, something almost in the nature of a divine gift. Therefore the present prologue is divided into two parts: in the first is given a forecast of what is to follow; in the second is an invocation to Apollo; which second part begins:

O buono Apollo, all'ultimo lavoro, &c.

§ 19. With reference to the first part it must be observed that to make a good exordium three things are requisite, as Tully says in his *New Rhetoric*, that the hearer, namely, should be rendered favourably disposed, attentive, and willing to learn; and this is especially needful in the case of a subject which is out of the common, as Tully himself remarks. Inasmuch, then, as the subject dealt with in the present work is out of the common, it is the aim of the first part of the exordium or prologue to bring about the above-mentioned three results with regard to this out-of-the-way subject. For the author declares that he will relate such things as he who beheld them in the first heaven was able to retain. In which statement all those three things are comprised; for the profitableness of what he is about to be told begets a favourable disposition in the hearer; its being out of

the common engages his attention; and its being within the range of possibility renders him willing to learn. Its profitableness he gives to be understood when he says that he shall tell of that which above all things excites the longing of mankind, namely the joys of Paradise; its uncommon nature is indicated when he promises to treat of such exalted and sublime matters as the conditions of the celestial kingdom; its being within the range of possibility is demonstrated when he says that he will tell of those things which he was able to retain in his mind—for if he was able, so will others be also. All this is indicated in the passage where he declares that he had been in the first heaven, and that he purposes to relate concerning the celestial kingdom whatsoever he was able to store up, like a treasure, in his mind. Having thus noted the excellence and perfection of the first part of the prologue, we may now proceed to the literal exposition.

§ 20. He says, then, that 'the glory of the First Mover', which is God, 'shines forth in every part of the universe', but in such wise that it shines 'in one part more and in another less'. That it shines in every part both reason and authority declare. Reason thus: Everything which exists has its being either from itself, or from some other thing. But it is plain that self-existence can be the attribute of one being only, namely the First or Beginning, which is God, since to have being does not argue necessary self-existence, and necessary self-existence appertains to one being only, namely the First or Beginning, which is the cause of all things; therefore everything which exists, except that One itself, has its being from some other thing. If, then, we take, not any thing whatsoever, but that thing which is the most remote in the universe, it is manifest that this has its being from something; and that from which it derives either has its being from itself, or from something else. If from itself, then it is primal; if from something else, then that again must either be self-existent, or derive from something else. But in this way we should go on to infinity in the

chain of effective causes, as is shown in the second book of the *Metaphysics*. So we must come to a primal existence, which is God. Hence, mediately or immediately, everything that exists has its being from Him, because, inasmuch as[1] the second cause has its effect[2] from the first, its influence on what it acts upon[3] is like that of a body which receives and reflects a ray; since the first cause is the more effective cause. And this is stated in the book *On Causes*, namely, that 'every primary cause has influence in a greater degree on what it acts upon[3] than any second cause'. So much with regard to being.

§ 21. With regard to essence I argue in this wise: Every essence, except the first, is caused; otherwise there would be more than one necessarily self-existent being, which is impossible. For what is caused is the effect either of nature or of intellect; and what is of nature is, consequently, caused by intellect, inasmuch as nature is the work of intelligence. Everything, then, which is caused is the effect, mediately or immediately, of some intellect. Since, then, virtue follows the essence whose virtue it is, if the essence is of intellect, the virtue is wholly and solely of the intellectual essence whose effect it is. And so, just as we had to go back to a first cause in the case of being, so now we must do so in the case of essence and of virtue. Whence it is evident that every essence and every virtue proceeds from a primal one; and that the lower intelligences have their effect[4] as it were from a radiating body, and, after the fashion of mirrors, reflect the rays of the higher to the one below them. Which matter appears to be discussed clearly enough by Dionysius in his work *On the Celestial Hierarchy*. And therefore it is stated in the book *On Causes* that 'every intelligence is full of forms'. Reason, then, as we have seen, demonstrates that the divine light, that is to say the divine goodness, wisdom, and virtue, shines in every part.

[1] *Ex eo quod.*
[2] *Recipit*, here used absolutely, as in § 21, l. 402.
[3] *Causatum.*
[4] *Recipiant*, used absolutely, as in § 20, l. 376.

§ 22. Authority likewise declares the same, but with more knowledge. For the Holy Spirit says by the mouth of Jeremiah: 'Do not I fill heaven and earth?' And in the *Psalm*: 'Whither shall I go from thy Spirit? and whither shall I flee from thy presence? If I ascend up into heaven, thou art there; if I descend into hell, thou art there also. If I take my wings,' &c. And *Wisdom* says: 'The Spirit of the Lord hath filled the whole world'. And *Ecclesiasticus*, in the forty-second chapter: 'His work is full of the glory of the Lord'. To which also the writings of the pagans bear witness; for Lucan says in his ninth book:

Jupiter is whatever thou seest, wherever thou goest.

§ 23. He says well, then, when he says that the divine ray, or divine glory, 'penetrates and shines through the universe'; penetrates, as to essence; shines forth, as to being. And what he adds as to 'more and less' is manifestly true, since we see that one essence exists in a more excellent degree, and another in a less; as is clearly the case with regard to the heaven and the elements, the former being incorruptible, while the latter are corruptible.

§ 24. And having premised this truth, he next goes on to indicate Paradise by a circumlocution; and says that he was in that heaven which receives the glory of God, or his light, in most bountiful measure. As to which it must be understood that that heaven is the highest heaven, which contains all the bodies of the universe, and is contained by none, within which all bodies move (itself remaining everlastingly at rest), and which receives virtue from no corporeal substance. And it is called the Empyrean, which is as much as to say, the heaven glowing with fire or heat; not that there is material fire or heat therein, but spiritual, which is holy love, or charity.

§ 25. Now that this heaven receives more of the divine light than any other can be proved by two things. Firstly, by its containing all things, and being contained by none; secondly, by its state of everlasting rest or

peace. As to the first the proof is as follows: The containing body stands in the same relation to the content in natural position as the formative does to the formable, as we are told in the fourth book of the *Physics*. But in the natural position of the whole universe the first heaven is the heaven which contains all things; consequently it is related to all things as the formative to the formable, which is to be in the relation of cause to effect. And since every causative force is in the nature of a ray emanating from the first cause, which is God, it is manifest that that heaven which is in the highest degree causative receives most of the divine light.

§ 26. As to the second the proof is this: Everything which has motion moves because of something which it has not, and which is the terminus of its motion. The heaven of the moon, for instance, moves because of some part of itself which has not attained the station towards which it is moving; and because no part whatsoever of it has attained any terminus whatsoever (as indeed it never can), it moves to another station, and thus is always in motion, and is never at rest, which is what it desires. And what I say of the heaven of the moon applies to all the other heavens, except the first. Everything, then, which has motion is in some respect defective, and has not its whole being complete. That heaven, therefore, which is subject to no movement, in itself and in every part whatsoever of itself has whatever it is capable of having in perfect measure, so that it has no need of motion for its perfection. And since every perfection is a ray of the Primal One, inasmuch as He is perfection in the highest degree, it is manifest that the first heaven receives more than any other of the light of the Primal One, which is God. This reasoning, however, has the appearance of an argument based on the denial of the antecedent, in that it is not a direct proof[1] and according to syllogistic form. But if we consider its content[2] it is a good proof, because it deals with a thing eternal, and assumes it to be capable of being eternally defective; so

[1] *Simpliciter.* [2] *Materiam.*

that, if God did not give that heaven motion, it is evident that He did not give it material in any respect defective. And on this supposition the argument holds good by reason of the content; and this form of argument is much the same as though we should reason: 'if he is man, he is able to laugh'; for in every convertible proposition a like reasoning holds good by virtue of the content. Hence it is clear that when the author says 'in that heaven which receives more of the light of God', he intends by a circumlocution to indicate Paradise, or the heaven of the Empyrean.[1]

§ 27. And in agreement with the foregoing is what the Philosopher says in the first book *On Heaven*, namely that 'a heaven has so much the more honourable material than those below it as it is the further removed from terrestrial things'. In addition to which might be adduced what the Apostle says to the Ephesians of Christ: 'Who ascended up far above all heavens, that He might fill all things'. This is the heaven of the delights of the Lord; of which delights it is said by Ezekiel against Lucifer: 'Thou, the seal of similitude,[2] full of wisdom, beautiful in perfection,[3] wast in the delights of the Paradise of God'.[4]

§ 28. And after he has said that he was in that place of Paradise which he describes by circumlocution, he goes on to say that he saw certain things which he who descends therefrom is powerless to relate. And he gives the reason, saying that 'the intellect plunges itself to such depth' in its very longing, which is for God, 'that the memory cannot follow'. For the understanding of which it must be noted that the human intellect in this life, by reason of its connaturality and affinity to the separate intellectual substance, when in exaltation, reaches such a height of exaltation that after its return to itself

[1] For help in rendering some of the technical passages in this and other sections I am indebted to my friend the late Dr. C. L. Shadwell, Provost of Oriel.

[2] A. V. 'Thou sealest up the sum'.

[3] Vulg. 'perfectus decore'; A. V. 'perfect in beauty'.

[4] A. V. 'Thou hast been in Eden the garden of God'.

memory fails, since it has transcended the range of human faculty. And this is conveyed to us by the Apostle where he says, addressing the Corinthians: 'I know a man (whether in the body, or out of the body, I cannot tell; God knoweth) how that he was caught up to the third heaven, and heard unspeakable words, which it is not lawful for a man to utter'. Behold, after the intellect had passed beyond the bounds of human faculty in its exaltation, it could not recall what took place outside of its range. This again is conveyed to us in Matthew, where we read that the three disciples fell on their faces, and record nothing thereafter, as though memory had failed them. And in Ezekiel it is written: 'And when I saw it, I fell upon my face'. And should these not satisfy the cavillers, let them read Richard of St. Victor in his book *On Contemplation*; let them read Bernard in his book *On Consideration*; let them read Augustine in his book *On the Capacity of the Soul*; and they will cease from their cavilling. But if on account of the sinfulness of the speaker they should cry out against his claim to have reached such a height of exaltation, let them read Daniel, where they will find that even Nebuchadnezzar by divine permission beheld certain things as a warning to sinners, and straightway forgot them. For He 'who maketh his sun to shine on the good and on the evil, and sendeth rain on the just and on the unjust', sometimes in compassion for their conversion, sometimes in wrath for their chastisement, in greater or lesser measure, according as He wills, manifests his glory to evil-doers, be they never so evil.

§ 29. He saw, then, as he says, certain things 'which he who returns has neither knowledge nor power to relate'. Now it must be carefully noted that he says 'has neither knowledge nor power'—knowledge he has not, because he has forgotten; power he has not, because even if he remembers, and retains it thereafter, nevertheless speech fails him. For we perceive many things by the intellect for which language has no terms—a fact which Plato indicates plainly enough in his books by his employment of metaphors; for he perceived many things

by the light of the intellect which his everyday language was inadequate to express.

§ 30. Afterwards the author says that he will relate concerning the celestial kingdom such things as he was able to retain; and he says that this is the subject of his work; the nature and extent of which things will be shown in the executive part.

§ 31. Then when he says: 'O buono Apollo', &c., he makes his invocation. And this part is divided into two parts—in the first, he invokes the deity and makes a petition; in the second, he inclines Apollo to the granting of his petition by the promise of a certain recompense; which second part begins: 'O divina virtù'. The first part again is divided into two parts—in the first, he prays for divine aid; in the second, he adverts to the necessity for his petition, whereby he justifies it; and this part begins:

Infino a qui l'un giogo di Parnaso, &c.

§ 32. This is the general meaning of the second part of the prologue; the particular meaning I shall not expound on the present occasion; for anxiety as to my domestic affairs[1] presses so heavily upon me that I must perforce abandon this and other tasks of public utility. I trust, however, that your Magnificence may afford me the opportunity to continue this useful exposition at some other time.

§ 33. With regard to the executive part of the work, which was divided after the same manner as the prologue taken as a whole, I shall say nothing either as to its divisions or its interpretation at present; save only that the process of the narrative will be by ascent from heaven to heaven, and that an account will be given of the blessed spirits who are met with in each sphere; and that their true blessedness consists in the apprehension of Him who is the beginning of truth, as appears from what John

[1] I follow Biagi here in taking the reference to be not to 'straitened circumstances', but to the pressure of family affairs; see *Bull. Soc. Dant. Ital.*, N.S. xvi. 29.

says: 'This is life eternal, to know thee the true God', &c.; and from what Boëtius says in his third book *On Consolation*: 'To behold thee is the end'. Hence it is that, in order to reveal the glory of the blessedness of those spirits, many things which have great profit and delight will be asked of them, as of those who behold the fullness of truth. And since, when the Beginning or First, which is God, has been reached, there is nought to be sought for beyond, inasmuch as He is Alpha and Omega, that is, the Beginning and the End, as the *Vision* of John tells us, the work ends in God Himself, who is blessed for evermore, world without end.

APPENDIX A

Lettera di Dante Alighieri Poeta Fiorentino a M. Guido da Polenta, Signor di Rauenna[1]

AL MAGNIFICO M. GUIDO DA POLENTA
SIGNOR DI RAVENNA.

Ogni altra cosa m' harei piu tosto creduto uedere, che quello che corporalmente ho trouato & ueduto delle qualita di questo eccelso Dominio. Minuit presentia famam: accioche io mi uaglia di quel passo di Vergilio. Io m' haueua fra me medesimo imaginato di douere trouar qui quei nobili & magnanimi Catoni, & quei rigidi censori de deprauati costumi, in somma tutto quello ch' essi con habito pomposissimo simulando, uogliono dar credere alla Italia misera & afflitta, di rappresentare in se stessi: & forse che non si fanno chiamare Rerū dominos, gentemq̄; togatam. Misera ueramente & mal condotta plebe; da che tanto insolentemente oppressa, tanto uilmente signoreggiata, & tanto crudelmēte uessata sei da questi huomini nuoui destruttori delle leggi antiche, et auttori

[1] For translation of this letter, see *Introduction*, pp. xxxiii ff.

d' ingiustissime corruttele. Ma che ui diro io, Signore, della ottusa & bestiale ignoranza di cosi graui & uenerabili padri? Io per non defraudare cosi la grandezza uostra, come l' auttorita mia, giugnendo alla presẽza di si canuto & maturo collegio, uolsi fare l'ufficio mio & l'ambasciata uostra in quella lingua, la quale insieme con l'imperio della bella Ausonia e tuttauia andata & ãdera sẽpre declinando: credendo forse ritrouarla in questo estremo angulo sedere in maesta sua, per andarsi poi diuulgando insieme con lo stato loro per tutta Europa almeno: ma oime che non altramente giunsi nuouo e incognito pellegrino, che se teste fossi giunto dall' estrema & occidentale Thile; anzi poteua io assai meglio qui ritrouare interprete allo straniero idioma, s' io fossi uenuto da i fauolosi Antipodi, che non fui ascoltato con la facondia Romana in bocca: perche non si tosto pronuntiai parte dell' essordio, ch' io m' haueua fatto a rallegrarmi in nome uostro della nouella elettione di questo serenissimo Doge; Lux orta est iusto & rectis corde letitia; che mi fu mandato a dire o ch' io cercassi d' alcuno interprete, o che mutassi fauella. Cosi mezzo fra stordito & sdegnato, ne so qual piu, cominciai alcune poche cose a dire in quella lingua, che portai meco dalle fasce: la quale fu loro poco piu familiare & domestica, che la latina si fosse. Onde in cambio d'apportar loro allegrezza & diletto, seminai nel fertilissimo campo dell' ignorantia di quegli abondantissimo seme di marauiglia & di confusione. Et non e da marauigliarsi punto, che essi il parlare Italiano non intendano: perche da progenitori Dalmati & Greci discesi, in questo gentilissimo terreno altro recato non hanno, che pessimi & uituperosissimi costumi, insieme con il fango d' ogni sfrenata lasciuia. Perche m'e paruto darui questo breue auiso della legatione che per uostra parte ho essequita: pregandoui che quantunque ogni autorita di comandarmi habbiate, a simili imprese piu non ui piaccia mandarmi: delle quali ne uoi riputatione, ne io per alcun tempo consolatione alcuna spero: Fermerommi qui pochi giorni, per pascer gli occhi corporali naturalmente ingordi della

nouita & uaghezza di questo sito: & poi mi trasferiro al dolcissimo porto dell' otio mio, tanto benignamente abbracciato dalla real cortesia uostra.

Di Vinegia alli xxx di Marzo M CCC XIIII.

L'humil seruo uostro Dante Alighieri Fiorentino.

APPENDIX B

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

From Dante's Priorate (1300) to his death (1321).

1300. June 15–Aug. 15. Dante's Priorate.
June 24. Banishment of the leaders of the Bianchi and Neri factions from Florence.
Aug. Death of Guido Cavalcanti.

1301. May. The Neri (Cino da Pistoja presumably among them) expelled from Pistoja. (Villani, viii. 45.)
Oct. The Bianchi of Florence send an embassy to Rome to Boniface VIII (Dino Compagni, ii. 4), of which Dante was a member. (Dino, ii. 25; *Ottimo Comento*, ii. 577.)
Nov. 1. Charles of Valois, sent by Boniface VIII as pacificator, enters Florence and treacherously espouses the cause of the Neri, who attack and pillage the houses of the Bianchi. (Vill. viii. 49.)
Nov. 9. Cante de' Gabrielli of Gubbio elected Podestà of Florence. (Dino, ii. 19.)[1]

1302. Jan. 27. First sentence (of heavy fine and banishment for two years) issued by Cante de' Gabrielli against Dante (in his absence) and three others for malversation in office.[2]

[1] See Del Lungo, *Dino Compagni e la sua Cronica*, vol. ii, p. 197, n. 17.

[2] See Del Lungo, *Dell' Esilio di Dante*, pp. 97–103.

1302. March 10. Second sentence (of death by burning) issued by Cante de' Gabrielli against Dante and fourteen others for contumacy.[1]

Final expulsion of the Bianchi from Florence. (Vill. viii. 49; Dino, ii. 23.)

April. Charles of Valois departs from Florence, leaving the Neri in possession. (Vill. viii. 49; Dino, ii. 25.)[2]

May. The Florentine Neri and Lucchese, under Moroello Malaspina, make an expedition against Pistoja and capture Serravalle. (Vill. viii. 52.)

June 8. Convention arranged between the Ubaldini, and the Ghibellines and Florentine Bianchi, at a meeting at San Godenzo in the Val di Sieve, at which Dante was present among the Florentine exiles.[3]

June–Sept. Warfare in the Mugello between the exiled Florentines and their allies, and the Neri of Florence. (Vill. viii. 53; Dino, ii. 29.)

1303. March. Renewed warfare in the Mugello. (Vill. viii. 60; Dino, ii. 30.)

Oct. 11. Death of Pope Boniface VIII.

Oct. 22. Election of Pope Benedict XI.

1304. Jan. 31. Cardinal Niccolò da Prato appointed pacificator in Tuscany by Benedict XI. (Vill. viii. 69; Dino iii. 1.)

March 10. Cardinal Niccolò arrives in Florence as pacificator. (Vill. viii. 69; Dino, iii. 4.)

Epistola i. (To the Cardinal Niccolò), written probably between March 1 and June 4.[4]

June 4. Cardinal Niccolò, having failed in his mission, departs from Florence, leaving the city under an interdict. (Vill. viii. 69; Dino, iii. 7.)[5]

[1] See Del Lungo, *Dell' Esilio di Dante*, pp. 104–6; and Dino Compagni, ii. 25.

[2] According to some accounts Charles left Florence in the previous February (see Del Lungo, *Dino Compagni e la sua Cronica*, vol. ii, p. 212, n. 1).

[3] See Del Lungo, *Dino Compagni e la sua Cronica*, vol. ii, pp. 569–70.

[4] See above, pp. 3–4.

[5] Dino gives the date as June 9.

1304. *Epistola* ii. (To the Counts Oberto and Guido da Romena), probably written about this time.[1]

July 7. Death of Pope Benedict XI.

July 20. Abortive attempt from Lastra of the Florentine exiles (from which Dante, who by now had probably dissociated himself from his fellow exiles, appears to have held aloof) to effect their return to Florence by force of arms. (Vill. viii. 72; Dino, iii. 10.)

The *De Vulgari Eloquentia* probably written in this year.[2]

1305. June 5. Election of Pope Clement V.

Dec. Restoration of the Colonna Cardinals.[3]

c. 1305–6. *Epistola* iii (iv). (To Cino da Pistoja), probably written about this time.[4]

1306. April. The exiled Neri (Cino da Pistoja presumably among them) return to Pistoja. (Vill. viii. 82; Dino, iii. 15.)

Oct. 6. Dante at Sarzana in Lunigiana acts as procurator for the Malaspini in their dispute with the Bishop of Luni.[5]

1307. July 7. Death of Edward I of England; accession of his son, Edward II.

1308. May 1. Death of the Emperor Albert I.

Oct. 6. Death of Corso Donati.[6]

Nov. The *Convivio* probably finished (so far as completed) by this date.[7]

Nov. 27. Election of Henry of Luxemburg (Henry VII) as Emperor. (Vill. viii. 101; Dino, iii. 23.)

[1] See above, pp. 12–13.

[2] See Ferrers Howell, in Temple Classics *Translation of Latin Works of Dante*, p. 119; and Wicksteed, in *Translation of Convivio*, p. 423.

[3] See above, p. 140, n.

[4] See above, pp. 20–1.

[5] See *Report XI (1892) of the Cambridge (U.S.A.) Dante Society*, pp. 15–24.

[6] See Del Lungo, *Dino Compagni e la sua Cronica*, vol. ii, p. 338, n. 10.

[7] See Wicksteed, in *Translation of Convivio*, pp. 420–2.

c. 1308–9. *Epistola* iv (iii). (To the Marquis Moroello Malaspina), probably written about this time.[1]

1309. Jan. 6. Henry VII crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle.[2] (Vill. viii. 102.)

May 6. Death of Charles II, King of Naples; accession of his son Robert.

June 2. Henry VII sends an embassy to Clement V at Avignon.[3]

June. Coronation of King Robert at Avignon.[4]

July 26. Clement V's first encyclical ('Divinae Sapientiae'), recognizing and confirming the election of Henry VII.[5]

August. Henry's expedition into Italy decided upon at the Diet of Spires.[6]

1310. May 10. Henry sends ambassadors to the chief cities of Italy to announce his coming to receive the Imperial crown at Rome.[7]

July 3. Henry's ambassador arrives in Florence; the Florentines return an insolent reply to the Emperor,[8] and in defiance of his bidding continue (July–Sept.) their operations against Arezzo. (Vill. viii. 119–20; Dino, iii. 35.)

Aug. The Florentines make alliances with King Robert of Naples and the Guelf cities of Tuscany and Lombardy in order to oppose the Emperor's advance into Italy. (Vill. ix. 7.)

[1] See above, pp. 31–2.

[2] The coronation ceremony of the Emperor was threefold—firstly, at Aix, with a silver crown, as King of Germany; secondly, at Monza (in Henry's case at Milan), with an iron crown, as King of Italy (or of the Romans); thirdly, at Rome, with a crown of gold, as Emperor. (See Del Lungo, *Dino Compagni e la sua Cronica*, vol. ii, p. 360, nn. 6, 8; p. 346, n. 1.)

[3] See F. Bonaini, *Acta Henrici VII, Romanorum Imperatoris*, i. 1–3.

[4] See Del Lungo, *Dino Compagni e la sua Cronica*, vol. ii, p. 355, n. 25.

[5] See Bonaini, *op. cit.*, pp. 3–5.

[6] See Böhmer, *Regesta Imperii*, p. 267.

[7] See Böhmer, *op. cit.*, pp. 267, 275.

[8] Flavio Biondo records that Dante, who was at this time at Forlì, wrote an account of this incident to Can Grande—see above, p. 98, n. 2.

1310. Sept. 1. Clement V's second encyclical ('Exultet in gloria'), calling upon all good Christians, and the Italians in particular, to receive and honour Henry as Emperor.[1]

Sept. 30. King Robert arrives in Florence. (Vill. ix. 8.)

Epistola v. (To the Princes and Peoples of Italy), written about this time.[2]

Oct. 10. The Emperor arrives at Lausanne, where he is welcomed by ambassadors from Italian cities, with the exception of Florence. (Vill. ix. 7.)[3]

Oct. The Emperor crosses the Alps by the Mt. Cenis, reaching Susa on Oct. 24, and Turin on Oct. 30.[4]

Oct. 24. King Robert leaves Florence. (Vill. ix. 8.)

Nov. 10–Dec. 12. The Emperor at Asti, where he receives Guelf and Ghibelline exiles, and nominates Imperial Vicars in various cities of Italy.[5] (Vill. ix. 9.)

Nov. 30. The Florentines decide to fortify their city against the coming of the Emperor. (Vill. ix. 10.)[6]

Dec. 23. The Emperor enters Milan. (Vill. ix. 9.)[7]

1311. Jan. 6. The Emperor is crowned with the iron crown at Milan[8] (Vill. ix. 9; Dino, iii. 26); Dante probably present at the ceremony. (*Epist.* vii. 38–46.)

Feb. 20. Cremona, incited by Florence, rebels against the Emperor. (Vill. ix. 11; Dino, iii. 28.)

[1] See Bonaini, *op. cit.*, pp. 42–5.
[2] See above, pp. 44–5.
[3] Villani antedates Henry's arrival at Lausanne—see Zingarelli, *Dante*, p. 257.
[4] Zingarelli, *op. cit.*, p. 258.
[5] Zingarelli, *loc. cit.*
[6] Cf. *Epist.* vi. 76–80.
[7] See Del Lungo, *Dino Compagni e la sua Cronica*, vol. ii, p. 359, n. 1.
[8] See above, p. 216, n. 2.

1311. March. Brescia rebels against the Emperor. (Vill. ix. 11.)

March 31. *Epistola* vi. (To the Florentines.)

April 17. *Epistola* vii. (To the Emperor Henry VII.)

April 19. The Emperor leaves Milan in order to reduce Cremona and the other rebellious cities of Lombardy.[1]

April–May. The Emperor besieges and takes Cremona. (Vill. ix. 14–15; Dino, iii. 28.)

Can Grande della Scala takes possession of Vicenza on behalf of the Emperor. (Vill. ix. 14.)

Epistolae vii*, vii**. (To the Empress Margaret), written about this time.[2]

April–June. The Florentines recall their Guelf exiles, and enroll the Guelfs of Tuscany in a league against the Emperor. (Vill. ix. 16, 17.)

May 18. *Epistola* vii***. (To the Empress Margaret.)[3]

May 19. The Emperor lays siege to Brescia. (Vill. ix. 15, 20; Dino, iii. 29.)[4]

Sept. 2. The proclamation, known as the 'Riforma di Messer Baldo d' Aguglione', issued at Florence, whereby pardon is offered to certain of the Florentine exiles, while others, Dante among them, are expressly excepted by name.[5]

Sept. 19. Brescia surrenders to the Emperor. (Vill. ix. 20; Dino, iii. 29.)[6]

Sept. 24. The Emperor enters Brescia, the fortifications of which he causes to be razed. (Vill. ix. 20; Dino, iii. 29.)[7]

[1] See Del Lungo, *op. cit.*, p. 367, n. 32.

[2] See above, p. 108.

[3] See above, pp. 116–17.

[4] For the date, see Del Lungo, *op. cit.*, p. 375, n. 12.

[5] See Paget Toynbee, *Life of Dante* (ed. 1910), pp. 94–5; and Del Lungo, *Dell' Esilio di Dante*, pp. 107 ff.

[6] Villani says Sept. 16, but see Del Lungo, *Dino Compagni e la sua Cronica*, vol. ii, p. 379, n. 38.

[7] For the date, see Del Lungo, *op. cit.*, pp. 379–80, nn. 38, 44.

1311. Oct. 2. The Emperor leaves Brescia.[1]
Can Grande appointed Imperial Vicar in Verona. (Vill. ix. 20.)
The Florentines and Lucchese fortify their frontiers against the approach of the Emperor. (Vill. ix. 21.)
The Emperor sends ambassadors to Florence; the Florentines refuse to receive them.[2] (Vill. ix. 26.)
Oct. 21. The Emperor arrives in Genoa. (Vill. ix. 24; Dino, iii. 30.)
Nov. 20. He cites the Florentines to appear before him.[3] (Vill. ix. 29.)
Dec. 14. Death of the Empress Margaret at Genoa. (Vill. ix. 28; Dino, iii. 30.)[4]
Dec. 15. King Robert sends troops to help the Florentines and Lucchese to oppose the Emperor. (Vill. ix. 31.)
Dec. The Guelfs of Brescia rebel against the Emperor, and are expelled by Can Grande della Scala. (Vill. ix. 32.)
Parma and Reggio, aided by the Florentines and Tuscan Guelfs, rebel against the Emperor. (Vill. ix. 32; Dino, iii. 31.)
Dec. 24. The Emperor proclaims Florence under the ban of the Empire.[5]
1312. Jan. 10. Cremona rebels against the Emperor and expels his Vicar. (Vill. ix. 34.)
Jan. 11. The Emperor's deputy arrives in Pisa, and begins operations against the Florentines. (Vill. ix. 35.)
Feb. Can Grande appointed Imperial Vicar in Vicenza.[6]

[1] Del Lungo, *op. cit.*, p. 381, n. 1.
[2] For an account of their treatment, see Del Lungo, *Da Bonifazio VIII ad Arrigo VII*, pp. 435-41.
[3] Del Lungo, *op. cit.*, p. 441.
[4] For the date, see Del Lungo, *Dino Compagni*, vol. ii, p. 384, n. 26.
[5] Del Lungo, *Da Bonifazio VIII ad Arrigo VII*, p. 441.
[6] See Torraca, *Studi Danteschi*, p. 255 n.

1312. Feb. 15. The Paduans, aided by the Florentines and Bolognese, rebel against the Emperor and expel his Vicar. (Vill. ix. 36.)

Feb. 16. The Emperor sails from Genoa for Pisa. (Vill. ix. 37; Dino, iii. 35.)

March 6. He arrives in Pisa,[1] on his way to Rome to be crowned. (Vill. ix. 37; Dino, iii. 35.)

April 16. King Robert's brother, Prince John, arrives in Rome and joins forces with the Orsini, in opposition to the Emperor. (Vill. ix. 39; Dino, iii. 36.)

April 23. The Emperor leaves Pisa, and goes by way of the Maremma to Viterbo, whence he proceeds to Rome and forces an entrance with the help of the Colonna (May 7). (Vill. ix. 40.)

May. King Robert's troops and the Guelfs of Tuscany assemble in force in Rome to oppose the coronation of the Emperor. (Vill. ix. 39.)

June 29. St. Peter's being in the hands of King Robert's forces, the Emperor is crowned in the church of St. John Lateran by the Cardinal Niccolò da Prato, Bishop of Ostia, and two other Cardinals. (Vill. ix. 43; Dino, iii. 36.)[2]

Aug. The Emperor arrives in Tuscany, and proceeds to Arezzo, where he makes preparations for the siege of Florence. (Vill. ix. 45.)

Sept. 19. He begins the siege, and remains before the city till the end of October. The Florentines receive large reinforcements from the Guelfs of Tuscany and Romagna, but will not risk an engagement. (Vill. ix. 47.)

Oct. 31. The Emperor raises the siege, and retires to San Casciano, where he remains until Jan. 6, 1313. (Vill. ix. 48.)

[1] It has been conjectured that Dante was in Pisa with the Emperor at this time, and that it was on this occasion that Petrarch as a boy saw Dante for the only time in his life. (See Del Lungo, *Da Bonifazio VIII ad Arrigo VII*, p. 430.)

[2] Both Villani and Dino give the date as Aug. 1; but see Del Lungo, *Dino Compagni*, vol. ii, pp. 410–11, n. 15.

1313. Jan. 7. He removes to Poggibonsi, where he remains until March 6. (Vill. ix. 48.)

March 9. He returns to Pisa, whence he issues a proclamation against Florence, depriving the city of all its dignities and privileges. (Vill. ix. 49.)

June. The Florentines confer the lordship of Florence upon King Robert of Naples for five years.[1] (Vill. ix. 56.)

Aug. 5. The Emperor leaves Pisa on his way south to encounter King Robert (Vill. ix. 51); he encamps on the banks of the Arbia at Montaperti,[2] where he falls ill, and from there proceeds to Buonconvento near Siena. (Vill. ix. 52.)

Aug. 24. Death of the Emperor at Buonconvento; his body is conveyed to Pisa for burial. (Vill. ix. 52, 53.)

Aug. 27. The Florentines address an exultant letter to their allies announcing the death of their enemy, 'the savage tyrant, Henry Count of Luxemburg'.[3]

1314. March 30. Alleged letter of Dante from Venice to Guido da Polenta.[4]

April 20. Death of Pope Clement V. (Papal See vacant until Aug. 1316.)

May–June. *Epistola* viii. (To the Italian Cardinals), probably written at this time.[5]

July 14. Irruption of the Gascons into the Conclave at Carpentras.[6]

Oct. 20. Election of the Emperor Louis IV.

Nov. Death of Philip IV of France; accession of his son, Louis X.

1315. May 19. Proclamation in Florence of a general

[1] Del Lungo, *Da Bonifazio VIII ad Arrigo VII*, p. 452.

[2] The scene of the disastrous defeat of the Florentine Guelfs fifty-three years before (Sept. 4, 1260), to which Dante refers, *Inf.* x. 85–6.

[3] Del Lungo, *Dino Compagni*, vol. i, pp. 637–8.

[4] See above, pp. 211–13; and *Introduction*, pp. xxxii ff.

[5] See above, pp. 124–6.

[6] See above, pp. 124–6.

1315. amnesty to the exiles (Dante being implicitly included), on condition of their paying a fine and undergoing the 'oblatio'[1] in San Giovanni.[2]

Epistola ix. (To a Friend in Florence), written at this time.[3]

Aug. 29. Disastrous defeat of the Florentines and Tuscan Guelfs by the Ghibellines under Uguccione della Faggiuola at Montecatini. (Vill. ix. 71, 72.)

Nov. 6. Fresh sentence (of beheading on the place of public execution) against Dante and others (including his sons).[4]

Dante the guest of Can Grande at Verona probably about this time.[5]

1316. June 2. Lando da Gubbio, chief magistrate of Florence, proclaims a fresh amnesty to certain of the exiles, those originally condemned by Cante de' Gabrielli in 1302 (Dante among them) being expressly excluded.[6]

June 5. Death of Louis X of France; accession of his brother, Philip V.

Aug. 7. Election of Pope John XXII.

1317. Sept. 20. The Ghibellines of Lombardy, under Can Grande, besiege Cremona (Vill. ix. 88); and make an expedition against the Paduans, taking several of their strong places (Vill. ix. 89).

Dante about this time becomes the guest of Guido Novello da Polenta at Ravenna.

Dec. Can Grande appointed Imperial Vicar in Verona and Vicenza by Frederick of Austria.

1318. Feb. The Paduans make terms with Can Grande, and undertake to reinstate the Ghibellines in Padua. (Vill. ix. 89.)

[1] See above, p. 154, n. 4.

[2] See A. Della Torre, in *Bull. Soc. Dant. Ital.*, N.S. xii. 149–50, 152.

[3] See above, p. 152.

[4] See Del Lungo, *Dell' Esilio di Dante*, pp. 148–51.

[5] See Moore, *Studies in Dante*, iii, pp. 360–1.

[6] See *Bull. Soc. Dant. Ital.*, N.S. xii. 148.

1318. April. The Ghibellines of Lombardy, under Can Grande, take Cremona. (Vill. ix. 91.)

Dec. 16. Can Grande elected Captain-General of the Ghibelline League in Lombardy.[1]

1319. Feb. Giovanni del Virgilio's *Carmen* ('Pieridum vox alma') addressed to Dante about this time.[2] Dante's *Ecloga* i ('Vidimus in nigris') in reply to the above.[3]

The *Inferno*, *Purgatorio*, and ten cantos of the *Paradiso* completed at this date.[4]

Aug. Giovanni del Virgilio's *Ecloga Responsiva* ('Forte sub irriguos').[5]

Can Grande captures the suburbs of Padua. (Vill. ix. 100.)

Epistola x. (To Can Grande), probably written about this time.[6]

1320. Jan. 20. Dante's dissertation *De Aqua et Terra* at Verona.

Aug. 25. Can Grande defeated before Padua, Uguccione della Faggiuola being killed. (Vill. ix. 121.)

Dante's *Ecloga* ii ('Velleribus Colchis'), perhaps written about this time.[7]

1321. (Summer.) Dante's embassy to Venice on behalf of Guido da Polenta.

Sept. 14. Death of Dante at Ravenna.

[1] See Torraca, *Studi Danteschi*, p. 255.
[2] See Wicksteed and Gardner, *Dante and Giovanni del Virgilio*, pp. 122, 218, 235.
[3] See Wicksteed and Gardner, *op. cit.*, p. 125.
[4] *Ecl.* i. 48–50, 64; see above, p. 163, nn. 5, 6.
[5] See Wicksteed and Gardner, *op. cit.*, p. 235.
[6] See above, p. 163.
[7] See Wicksteed and Gardner, *op. cit.*, pp. 127, 236.

APPENDIX C

DANTE AND THE *CURSUS*

§ 1. History and Nature of the Mediaeval *Cursus*[1]

The *cursus* is the name given to the harmonious arrangement, according to prescribed laws, of the words at the end of the clause or sentence in prose composition —'artificiosa dictionum structura', as it is defined by a thirteenth-century writer on the subject.[2] The mediaeval *cursus* may be described as the lineal descendant of the classical *cursus*, with the substitution of accent for quantity; that is to say, mediaeval Latin prose, when written in accordance with the laws of the *cursus*, was accentual or rhythmical, instead of being metrical, like the 'prosa numerosa' of Cicero.

During the period of transition, which apparently began in the latter half of the fourth century, and is usually reckoned to close with Gregory the Great (540–604), before the stress of the accent had altogether obliterated the recognition of quantity, there prevailed a style which was characterized by a mixture of the two—*cursus mixtus*, as it has been called—some of the clausulae being metri-

[1] For this account, which is reprinted in part from the *Modern Language Review* (xiii. 420 ff.), I am largely indebted to the paper on *The Cursus in Mediaeval and Vulgar Latin* by Professor A. C. Clark (Oxford, 1910); to the second edition of *Il Cursus nella Storia Letteraria e nella Liturgia* of Angelo De Santi (Rome, 1903); and to chapter iv of R. L. Poole's *Lectures on the History of the Papal Chancery* (Cambridge, 1915).

[2] Buoncompagno di Firenze—the passage is quoted by Thurot in his *Histoire des Doctrines grammaticales au Moyen Âge* (in *Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits*, xxii. ii. 480): 'Appositio que dicitur esse artificiosa dictionum structura, ideo a quibusdam cursus vocatur, quia, cum artificialiter dictiones locantur, currere sonitu delectabili per aures videntur cum beneplacito auditorum.'

cal, while others follow the accent without regard to the quantity.[1] At the end of this period the employment of rhythmical prose seems to have fallen into abeyance.[2]

A revival took place in the eleventh century, when the rhythmical *cursus* was adopted by the Roman Curia and was the subject of elaborate rules.[3] 'The prose of this period', writes Professor Clark, 'was largely epistolary'; in which term are included 'not merely private letters, but elaborate and courtly compositions sent to ecclesiastical dignitaries, and diplomatic documents proceeding from the Papal Chancery. . . . The usual term for such compositions was *dictamen*,[4] writers were called *dictatores*,[5] their art was known as *ars dictatoria*, and handbooks giving the rules were styled *summa dictaminis*.'[6]

The employment of the *cursus* soon spread beyond the confines of the Papal Chancery, and became general, not only in epistolary correspondence, but in every form of Latin prose composition with any pretension to style and elegance[7]—its use in fact became the distinguishing mark

[1] See Clark, *op. cit.*, pp. 10–13.

[2] See Clark, *op. cit.*, pp. 12–13, where the following statement of the Benedictines of Solesmes is quoted: 'A partir de Saint Grégoire le Grand le rythme semble s'exiler pour quatre siècles de la prose littéraire'. Cf. De Santi, *op. cit.*, p. 12: 'Tutti gli autori sono concordi nell' asserire che dal secolo VII in poi la prosa metrica va disparendo. A poco a poco la quantità soggiace all' impero dell' accento e più non conta, finchè si perde ogni traccia di un *cursus* comechessia cadenzato.'

[3] Clark, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

[4] Dante applies this term to a poetical composition in the *De Vulgari Eloquentia* (ii. 12, l. 52).

[5] Dante twice uses the word in this sense, viz. in the *De Vulgari Eloquentia* (ii. 6, l. 46), and in the letter to Can Grande (*Epist.* x, l. 207).

[6] Clark, *op. cit.*, pp. 13–14.

[7] This is brought out in an interesting way by Dante in the sixth chapter of the second book of the *De Vulgari Eloquentia*, in which he enumerates four 'degrees of construction', with instances: 'Sunt etenim gradus constructionum quamplures; videlicet insipidus, qui est rudium, ut *Petrus amat multum dominam Bertam*. Est pure sapidus, qui est rigidorum scholarium vel magistrorum, ut *Piget me cunctis pietate maiore quicumque in exilio tabescentes, patriam tantum somniando revisunt*. Est et sapidus et venustus, qui est

of a cultivated writer—and it continued to flourish until 'with the dawn of the Renaissance the knowledge of quantity revived, and the *cursus* was abandoned as barbarous[1] . . . and the art of *numerosa compositio* was lost, only to be recovered gradually during the last few years.'[2]

In the mediaeval *cursus*, which, it must be borne in

quorundam superficie tenus rhetoricam haurientium, ut *Laudabilis discretio marchionis Estensis et sua magnificentia praeparata cunctis illum facit esse dilectum.* Est et sapidus et venustus, etiam et excelsus, qui est dictatorum illustrium, ut *Electa maxima parte florum de sinu tuo, Florentia, nequicquam Trinacriam Totila secundus adivit'* (ll. 32–48). In the last three examples, which are those of a cultivated style, the normal rules of the *cursus* are observed, while in the first, 'qui est rudium', they are ignored. Thus in the second we have '(pie)táte maióre' (*planus*),* '(in ex)ílio tàbescéntes (*velox*),* '(somni)ándo revísunt' (*planus*); in the third, '(marchi)ónis Esténsis' (*planus*), '(magnifi)céntia praèparáta' (*velox*), 'ésse diléctum' (*planus*); in the last, 'túo, Floréntia' (*tardus*),* '(ne)quícquam Trinácriam' (*tardus*), '(se)cúndus adívit' (*planus*). It may be noted that the *cursus* is also observed in the example which Dante gives, earlier in this same chapter, in the passage in which he defines the 'constructio': 'Est enim sciendum, quod constructionem vocamus regulatam compaginem dictionum, ut *Aristoteles philosophatus est tempore Alexandri'* (ll. 11–14), 'témpore Alexándri' constituting a *velox*.

[1] Clark, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

[2] See N. Valois: *Étude sur le Rythme des Bulles Pontificales*, in *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, xlii. 267; Clark, *op. cit.*, p. 21; and Poole, *op. cit.*, p. 76. Cf. De Santi, *op. cit.*, p. 33: 'Il massimo fiore del *cursus* letterario medievale si riscontra tra il pontificato d'Innocenzo III (1198–1216) e quello di Nicolò IV (1288–1292). Le regole rimangono invariate e nelle lettere pontificie non vi ha clausola, o intermedia o finale, che non sia regolata col *cursus*. Ma sotto Nicolò IV comincia la decadenza. I notarii apostolici divengono di mano in mano più negligenti. . . . Nel secolo xiv il *cursus* scompare del tutto nelle nuove Bolle e solo sopravvive nelle formole copiate dagli Atti più antichi, ma senza coscienza alcuna dello stile loro proprio. La rinascenza aveva fatto già rifiorire le teorie di Cicerone e di Quintiliano, ed i bravi latinisti del cinquecento non badarono più davvero alle regole del *cursus*, ma a scriver bene, secondo lo stile dell' Età dell' oro, e a dare una movenza armonica al periodo che ritraesse del gusto dei migliori classici, a ciò aiutandosi specialmente del giudizio dell' orecchio formatosi sopra quelli.'

* For the explanation of these terms, see below, pp. 227–8.

mind, depends entirely upon accent, not quantity, and in which there is no elision, the hiatus being tolerated, three principal types of clausula are recognized, which are known respectively as *planus*, *tardus*, and *velox*.

Cursus Planus.

The *cursus planus* in its normal form (*pl*) consists of a paroxytone trisyllable (or its equivalent, a monosyllable and a paroxytone dissyllable) preceded by a paroxytone dissyllable or polysyllable, the caesura falling after the second syllable of the clausula; as, ésse | vidétur; víncla | perfrégit; lóngum | sermónem; dáre | non vúltis; (obe)díre | mandátis.

As in the classical *cursus* two short syllables might be substituted for a long in the clausula,[1] so in the mediaeval *cursus* it was allowable to substitute two unaccented syllables for one in the same manner, a licence which gave rise to what may be termed alternative or secondary forms. Thus the normal form of the *planus* (ésse vidétur; lóngum sermónem) might be replaced by a secondary form (*pl*[2]), such as, ésse | videátur; dóna | sentiámus; (perve)níre | mereámur; the caesura falling after the second syllable as in the normal form.[2]

Another variation of the normal *planus* was occasionally admitted, without caesura, in which the whole clausula was composed of a single word (*pl*[3]); such as, iúdicabátur; tránsgrediéntes.[3]

Yet another form, which by some is classed as a variety of *planus* (*pl*[4]), and by others is placed in a separate category styled *cursus medius*,[4] consists of a paroxytone dissyllable preceded by a proparoxytone trisyllable (or its equivalent) or polysyllable, the caesura falling after the

[1] Clark, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

[2] This secondary form is by some classed as *cursus trispondaicus*; see De Santi, *op. cit.*, p. 25; Clark, *op. cit.*, pp. 18, 19.

[3] See Parodi, in *Bullettino della Società Dantesca Italiana*, N.S. xix. 251 n.

[4] See De Santi, *op. cit.*, p. 26; and Clark, *op. cit.*, pp. 18, 19.

third syllable of the clausula; as, précibus | nóstris; út pius | páter; (domi)nábitur | míhi.[1]

Cursus Tardus.

The normal form of the *cursus tardus* (*t*) consists of a proparoxytone tetrasyllable (or its equivalent), preceded by a paroxytone dissyllable or polysyllable, the caesura falling after the second syllable of the clausula, as in the *planus*; as, ésse | vidébitis; víncla | perfrégerat; (oper)ári | iustítiam. The final tetrasyllable may be represented either by a paroxytone trisyllable followed by a monosyllable; as, nóbis | aggréssus est; (sub)íre | necésse est; or by a proparoxytone trisyllable preceded by a monosyllable; as, vérba | non cáperent; (murmu)rántes | in ínvicem.

By the substitution, as in the *planus*, of two unaccented syllables for one after the caesura, we get a secondary form of the *tardus* (t^2), of the type ésse | videámini; (vir)tútis | operátio.[2]

What by some is classed as a variety of the *cursus tardus* (t^3), and by others is placed in the category of the *cursus medius*,[3] has the caesura after the third syllable of the clausula, which thus consists of a proparoxytone trisyllable preceded by a proparoxytone trisyllable or polysyllable; as, iúgiter | póstulat; (per)cútitur | ímpius.

Cursus Velox.

The *cursus velox* in its normal form (*v*) consists of a paroxytone tetrasyllable (or its equivalent) preceded by a proparoxytone trisyllable or polysyllable, the caesura falling after the third syllable of the clausula; as, ómnia | vìdeántur; vínculum | frègerámus; (su)súrrio | blàndiéntem.[4] The final tetrasyllable may be represented

[1] See Parodi, *Bull. Soc. Dant. Ital.*, N.S. xix. 251 n., 259.

[2] This secondary form of *tardus* is by some classed as *dispondeus dactylicus*; see De Santi, *op. cit.*, p. 26; Clark, *op. cit.*, pp. 18, 19.

[3] See De Santi, *op. cit.*, p. 26; Clark, *op. cit.*, pp. 18, 19.

[4] The grave accent indicates a minor stress, in conformity with the observation 'that long words cannot be pronounced without the help of minor accents' (see Clark, *op. cit.*, p. 10).

either by a paroxytone trisyllable preceded by a monosyllable; as, cívitas | èst Romána; (vic)tóriam | sùnt adépti; or by two dissyllables; as, nésciens | àtque nólens; (uten)sília | Dèi súmus.

As in the case of the *planus* and *tardus*, by the substitution of two unaccented syllables for one after the caesura, we get a secondary form of *velox* (v^2), of the type flétibus | ìntemerátus; cállide | cònsiderántes.

A further variety of the *cursus velox* (v^3), which by some is designated *cursus octosyllabicus*,[1] has an additional syllable at the end, of the type flétibus | sùpplicántium; (amari)túdinem | poèniténtiae.

It may be noted in passing that the *cursus velox* (in its normal form) was by far the most popular of the three types of clausula in the mediaeval *cursus*, and was usually assigned the post of honour at the end of the period.[2] De Santi quotes[3] an interesting dictum on this subject from one of the mediaeval text-books on *dictamen*, which, as he observes, enforces the point by example as well as by precept, the sentence ending with a sonorous *velox*: 'Cursus tamen velox maiorem ornatum efficit, et ideo a dictatoribus commúniter àcceptátur.'

Cursus Medius.

Besides the normal forms of *planus*, *tardus*, and *velox*, and their variations as described above, yet another form of clausula was admitted, to which the name of *cursus medius* (*m*) has been given,[4] consisting of a proparoxytone

[1] See De Santi, *op. cit.*, p. 26; Clark, *op. cit.*, pp. 18, 19.

[2] Dante, for example, concludes the *De Monarchia* with the *velox*, 'temporálium gùbernátor'; and his letter to Can Grande (*Epist.* x) with another, 'in saécula saèculórum'; so also *Epist.* iv (iii), 'praeséntium rèquirátis'; *Epist.* vii, 'in gaúdio rècolémus'; and *Epist.* viii, 'pósteris in exémplum'; even the *Vita Nuova*, which ends with a Latin sentence, concludes with a *velox*, 'saécula bènedíctus'.

[3] *Op. cit.*, p. 25.

[4] See De Santi, *op. cit.*, p. 26; Clark, *op. cit.*, pp. 18, 19; and Parodi, in *Bull. Soc. Dant. Ital.*, N.S. xix. 256–7. In this category are also placed by some the clausulae classed above as *planus*[4] and *tardus*[3] (see above, p. 227, n. 4; p. 228, n. 3).

trisyllable (or its equivalent) preceded by a paroxytone dissyllable or polysyllable, the caesura falling after the second syllable of the clausula; as, coélum | círcuit; (fo)vémůr | méritis; (miser)ántem | quémpiam; nóndum | nóbis est.

Table of Clausulae.

For convenience of reference and comparison the principal types of clausula in the mediaeval *cursus*, with their variations, as formulated above, are here tabulated with typical examples.

Cursus Planus.

(*a*) ´ ~ | ~ ´ ~ { ésse vidétur / lóngum sermónem } (*pl*)

(*b*) ´ ~ | ~ ~ ´ ~ { ésse videátur / dóna sentiámus } (pl^2)[1]

(*c*) ´ ~ ~ ´ ~ { iúdicabátur / tránsgrediéntes } (pl^3)

(*d*) ´ ~ ~ | ´ ~ { précibus nóstris / ímpius páter } (pl^4)[2]

Cursus Tardus.

(*a*) ´ ~ | ~ ´ ~ ~ { ésse vidébitis / ráro iustítia } (*t*)

(*b*) ´ ~ | ~ ~ ´ ~ ~ { ésse videámini / fórtis operátio } (t^2)[3]

(*c*) ´ ~ ~ | ´ ~ ~ { iúgiter póstulat / cómmoda sítiens } (t^3)[4]

[1] Otherwise known as *cursus trispondaicus* (see above, p. 227, n. 2).

[2] Classed by some as a type of *cursus medius* (see above, p. 227, n. 4).

[3] Otherwise known as *cursus dispondeus dactylicus* (see above, p. 228, n. 2).

[4] Classed by some as a type of *cursus medius* (see above, p. 228, n. 3).

Cursus Velox.

(*a*) ∠ ~ ~ | ∠ ~ ∠ ~ { ómnia vìdeántur / flétibus sùpplicántis } (*v*)

(*b*) ∠ ~ ~ | ∠ ~ ~ ∠ ~ { flétibus ìntemerátus / cállide cònsiderántes } (v^2)

(*c*) ∠ ~ ~ | ∠ ~ ∠ ~ ~ { flétibus sùpplicántium / tímidae vìdeámini } (v^3)[1]

Cursus Medius.

∠ ~ | ∠ ~ ~ { coélum círcuit / ésse póterit } (*m*)

§ 2. The *Cursus* in the *De Monarchia*, *De Vulgari Eloquentia*, and *Quaestio de Aqua et Terra*.

Before proceeding to the examination of these works from the point of view of the *cursus*, it must be explained that we must not expect to find the *cursus* observed systematically in the purely argumentative and didactic portions of these treatises, in which of necessity technical terms and expressions have to be introduced which do not easily lend themselves to the required manipulation; its observance must only be looked for in the more rhetorical and personal passages. Such passages naturally occur in the introductory and concluding portions of the works.[2]

Now on applying the *cursus* test to the first chapter of the first book of the *De Monarchia* we observe the

[1] Otherwise known as *cursus octosyllabicus* (see above, p. 229, n. 1).

[2] This will be found to be the case also in the letter to Can Grande (*Epist.* x), the *cursus* being regularly observed in the address and first four sections which constitute the epistolary portions proper, but not in the remainder of the letter, which is in the nature of a commentary, and full of technical terms and quotations. Exceptions of a similar nature, it may be observed, covering titles, dates, quotations, and technical phraseology generally, were formally recognized in the rules of the *cursus* of the Roman Curia (see Valois, *Étude sur le Rythme des Bulles Pontificales*, in *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, xlii. 258; and Poole, *op. cit.*, pp. 80, 94.

occurrence of the recognized clausulae throughout; thus we find in l. 3: 'interésse vidétur' (*pl*); ll. 4–5: 'antiquórum ditáti sunt' (*t*); l. 5: 'pósteris pròlabórent' (*v*); ll. 6–7: 'hábeat quò ditétur' (*v*); ll. 7–8: 'ésse non dúbitet' (*t*); ll. 8–9: 'documéntis imbútus' (*pl*); ll. 9–10: 'adférre non cúrat' (*pl*); l. 12: 'perniciósa vorágo' (*pl*); l. 13: 'sémper ingúrgitans' (*t*); ll. 13–14: 'ingurgitáta refúndens' (*pl*); ll. 14–15: 'mécum recógitans' (*t*); l. 16: 'quandóque redárguar' (*t*); l. 17: 'módo turgéscere' (*t*); l. 18: 'fructificáre desídero' (*t*); l. 19: 'osténdere vèritátes' (*v*); l. 21: 'íterum dèmonstráret' (*v*); l. 22: 'felicitátem osténsam' (*pl*); ll. 22–3: 'reosténdere cònarétur' (*v*); ll. 23–4: 'Ciceróne defénsam' (*pl*); l. 24: resúmeret dèfensándam' (*v*); l. 26: 'taediósa praestáret' (*pl*); ll. 27–8: 'occúltas et útiles' (*t*); l. 28: 'Monarchíae notítia' (*t*); l. 29: 'máxime látens' (pl^4); l. 30: 'immediáte ad lúcrum' (*pl*); l. 31: 'ómnibus intentáta' (*v*); l. 32: 'enucleáre latíbulis' (*t*); l. 33: 'múndo pervígilem' (*t*); l. 35: 'glóriam àdipíscar' (*v*); l. 36: 'víres aggrédior' (*t*); l. 37: 'virtúte confídens' (*pl*); l. 38: 'Largitóris illíus' (*pl*); ll. 38–9: 'ómnibus àffluénter' (*v*); l. 39: 'ét non impróperat' (*t*).

Taking the last chapter of the first book, we find in ll. 2–3: 'memorábilis àttestátur' (*v*); ll. 3–4: 'illíus mortálium' (*t*); l. 5: 'hóminem àdsumptúrus' (*v*); l. 6: 'ípse dispósuit' (*t*); l. 7: 'primórum paréntum' (*pl*); l. 9: 'témpora rècolámus' (*v*); ll. 10–11: 'Augústo monárcha' (*pl*); l. 11: 'monarchía perfécta' (*pl*); l. 12: 'fuísse quiétum' (*pl*); l. 13: 'fúerit félix' (pl^4); l. 14: 'tránquillitáte' (pl^3); l. 15: 'historiógraphi ómnes' (pl^4); l. 15: 'poétae illústres' (*pl*); l. 17: 'testári dignátus est' (*t*); l. 19: 'felicíssimum àppellávit' (*v*); l. 20: 'pléna fuérunt' (*pl*); l. 22: 'minístro vacávit' (*pl*); l. 23: 'habúerit órbis' (pl^4); l. 25: 'prímitus pássa est' (t^3); l. 25: 'légere póssumus' (t^3); l. 26: 'útinam nòn vidére' (*v*); l. 26: 'génus humánum' (*pl*); l. 27: 'quántis procéllis' (*pl*); l. 27: 'átque iactúris' (*pl*); ll. 27–8: 'quantísque naufrágiis' (*t*); l. 28: 'agitári te necésse est' (t^2); l. 29: 'cápitum fáctum' (pl^4); l. 30: 'divérsa conáris' (*pl*);

ll. 30–1 : 'aegrótas utróque' (*pl*); l. 31 : 'simíliter èt afféctu' (*v*); ll. 32–3 : 'superiórem non cúras' (*pl*); l. 34 : 'ínferiórem' (pl^3); l. 35 : 'divínae suasiónis' (pl^2); l. 36 : 'tíbi afflétur' (*pl*); ll. 37–8 : 'frátres in únum' (*pl*).

Finally, taking the concluding sentence of the whole treatise, we get in l. 135 : 'utátur ad Pétrum' (*pl*); l. 136 : 'úti ad pátrem' (*pl*); l. 137 : 'grátiae ìllustrátus' (*v*); l. 138 : 'térrae irrádiet' (*t*); l. 139 : 'sólo praeféctus est' (*t*); l. 140 : 'temporálium gùbernátor' (*v*).

Turning next to the *De Vulgari Eloquentia*, in the first chapter of the first book we find, in ll. 2–3 : 'inveniámus tractásse' (*pl*); ll. 4–5 : 'necessáriam vìdeámus' (*v*); l. 7 : 'natúra permíttit' (*pl*); l. 8 : 'lucidáre illórum' (*pl*); l. 9 : 'ámbulant pèr platéas' (*v*); l. 10 : 'posterióra putántes' (*pl*); l. 11 : 'aspiránte de coélis' (*pl*); l. 12 : 'prodésse tentábimus' (*t*); l. 13 : 'nóstri ingénii' (*t*); l. 14 : 'póculum haùriéntes' (*v*); l. 15 : 'compilándo ab áliis' (*t*); l. 15 : 'potióra miscéntes' (*pl*); l. 16 : 'potionáre possímus' (*pl*); ll. 16–17 : 'dulcíssimum hỳdroméllum' (*v*); l. 18 : 'opórtet non probáre' (pl^2); l. 19 : 'aperíre subiéctum' (*pl*); l. 20 : 'ílla versátur (*pl*); ll. 20–1 : 'celériter àttendéntes' (*v*); l. 24 : 'vóces incípiunt' (*t*); ll. 24–5 : 'brévius dìci pótest' (*v*); l. 25 : 'locutiónem assérimus' (*t*); ll. 26–7 : 'imitántes accípimus' (*t*); l. 28 : 'secundária nóbis' (pl^4); ll. 29–30 : 'grammáticam vòcavérunt' (*v*); ll. 30–1 : 'álii sèd non ómnes' (*v*); ll. 31–2 : 'paúci pervéniunt' (*t*); l. 34 : 'doctrinámur in ílla' (*pl*); l. 35 : 'nobílior èst vulgáris' (*v*); l. 36 : 'géneri ùsitáta' (*v*); l. 37 : 'ípsa perfrúitur' (*t*); l. 38 : 'vocábula sìt divísa' (*v*); l. 39 : 'naturális est nóbis' (*pl*); l. 40 : 'artificiális exístat' (*pl*); l. 41 : 'inténtio pèrtractáre' (*v*).

The *De Vulgari Eloquentia* being an unfinished work, the concluding test cannot be applied in this case. Passing now to the *Quaestio de Aqua et Terra*, we find in the Proem, l. 1 : 'univérsis et síngulis' (*t*); ll. 1–2 : 'líteras ìnspectúris' (*v*); l. 4 : 'éo salútem' (*pl*); ll. 4–5 : 'veritátis et lúmen' (*pl*); and in the first section, l. 2 : 'existénte me Mántuae' (*t*); ll. 2–3 : 'quaédam exórta est' (*t*); l. 3 : 'dilatáta multóties' (*t*); l. 5 : 'indeter-

mináta restábat' (*pl*); l. 6: 'amóre veritátis' (*pl*²); ll. 6–7: 'contínue sìm nutrítus' (*v*); ll. 7–8: 'quaestiónem praefátam' (*pl*); l. 8: 'línquere ìndiscússam' (*v*); l. 9: 'vérum osténdere' (*t*); l. 10: 'cóntra dissólvere' (*t*); l. 11: 'veritátis amóre' (*pl*); ll. 11–12: 'ódio fàlsitátis' (*v*); l. 12: 'lívor multórum' (*pl*); ll. 13–14: 'confíngere sólent' (*pl*⁴); ll. 14–15: 'dícta transmútent' (*pl*); l. 15: 'plácuit ínsuper' (*t*³); l. 16: 'dígitis èxaráta' (*v*); l. 17: 'á me relínquere' (*t*); l. 18: 'cálamo dèsignáre' (*v*).

In the concluding section we get, in ll. 1–2: 'phílosophía' (*pl*³); ll. 3–4: 'sacrosáncto Románo' (*pl*); l. 6: 'úrbe Veróna' (*pl*); ll. 6–7: 'Hélenae glòriósae' (*v*); l. 7: 'cléro Veronénsi' (*pl*²); ll. 8–9: 'caritáte ardéntes' (*pl*); l. 9: 'rogámina nòn admíttunt' (*v*); l. 10: 'humilitátis virtútem' (*pl*); l. 12: 'probáre videántur' (*pl*²); l. 13: 'interésse refúgiunt' (*t*); and, leaving the date out of consideration,[1] l. 19: 'ínnuit vènerándum' (*v*).

In all three works, it may be remarked, *cursus* endings are introduced from time to time even in the argumentative portions, especially at the end of chapters or sections; and its regular observance is noticeable in occasional passages of some length in both of the longer treatises.[2]

§ 3. The *Cursus* in the *Epistolae*.

In epistolary correspondence the strict observance of the *cursus*, with the recognized exceptions,[3] was obligatory throughout. As was to be expected, Dante's *Epistolae* are no exception to the rule.[4] The letters ascribed to Dante may be divided into two categories, namely those written in his own name, and those written in the capacity of secretary.[5] The first may be subdivided into political

[1] See above, p. 231, n. 2.

[2] For example, in *De Monarchia*, ii. 3, ll. 1–42; ii. 5, ll. 31–42; iii. 16, ll. 75–113; and in *De Vulgari Eloquentia*, i. 5, ll. 10–34; i. 6, ll. 17–38; i. 7, ll. 1–70; i. 8, ll. 1–44; i. 9, ll. 1–107; &c., &c.

[3] See above, p. 231, n. 2.

[4] There are a few instances of clausulae which do not conform to the recognized rules, but some of these may probably be accounted for by the corruption of the text (see below, pp. 246–7).

[5] See *Introduction*, p. xxvi.

(comprising *Epist.* v, vi, vii, viii), and private and personal (comprising *Epist.* ii, iii (iv), iv (iii), ix, x); in the second would be included *Epist.* i, vii*, vii**, vii***.

For the purpose of applying the *cursus* test to the *Epistolae*, a specimen may be selected of a representative letter of each class. Taking the first section of the best known of the political letters, *Epist.* vii (to the Emperor Henry VII), we have:

'Immensa Dei dilectióne testánte (*pl*)[1], relicta nobis est pácis heréditas (*t*), ut in sua míra dulcédine (*t*) militiae nostrae dúra mitéscerent (*t*), et in usu eius pátriae trìumphántis (*v*) gaúdia mèrerémur (*v*). At livor antiqui et implacábilis hóstis (*pl*[4]), humanae prosperitati semper et laténter insídians (*t*), nonnullos exheredándo voléntes (*pl*) ob tutóris abséntiam (*t*) nos alios impie denudávit invítos (*pl*). Hinc diu super flumina confusiónis deflévimus (*t*), et patrocínia iùsti régis (*v*) incessanter ímplorabámus (*pl*[3]), qui satellitium saevi tyránni dispérderet (*t*), et nos in nostra iustítia rèformáret (*v*). Quumque tu, Caesaris et Augústi successor (*pl*), Apennini iúga transíliens (*t*), veneranda signa Tarpéïa rètulísti (*v*), protinus longa substitérunt suspíria (*t*), lacrymarumque dilúvia dèsiérunt (*v*); et, ceu Titan praeoptátus exóriens (*t*), nova spes Latio saeculi melióris effúlsit (*pl*). Tunc plerique vota sua praevenièntes in iúbilo (*t*), tam Satúrnia régna (*pl*[4]) quam Vírginem rèdeúntem (*v*) cum Maróne cantábant (*pl*)'.

For a specimen of the personal letters, the first two

[1] It may be noted here that, strictly speaking, the clausula only occurs where there is a pause, however slight; but in practice, with writers who observed the *cursus*, it became customary to employ the formulae of the clausula even where there was no pause. Numerous instances of this practice will be found throughout the *Epistolae* of Dante. In this connexion Professor A. C. Clark writes to me: 'With regard to those rhythms which are not accompanied by a pause—there was a tendency to extend the use of "numeri", and to employ them where there was no pause. Also, in course of time, the harsher rhythms became obsolete, and only the favourite "numeri" were employed. The consequence was that late metrical prose became a cento of those "numeri" from which the *cursus* developed.'

sections of *Epist.* ix (the well-known letter to a friend in Florence) may be taken:

'In líteris véstris (*pl*[4]), et reverentia debita et affectióne recéptis (*pl*), quam repatriatio mea curae sit vóbis et ánimo (*t*), grata mente ac diligenti animadversióne concépi (*pl*); et inde tanto me distríctius òbligástis (*v*), quanto rarius exules invenire amícos contíngit (*pl*). Ad illarum vero significáta respónsio (*t*), etsi non erit qualem forsan pusillanimitas appéteret àliquórum (*v*), ut sub examine véstri consílii (*t*) ante iudícium vèntilétur (*v*), affectuóse depósco (*pl*).

Ecce igitur quod per literas vestri meíque nepótis (*pl*), nec non aliorum quamplúrium àmicórum (*v*), significátum est míhi (*pl*[4]) per ordinamentum nuper fáctum Floréntiae (*t*) super absolutióne bannitórum (*pl*[2]): quod si solvere vellem certam pecúniae quàntitátem (*v*), vellemque pati notam óblatiónis (*pl*[3]), et àbsolvi possem et redíre ad praésens (*pl*). In qua quidem dúo ridénda (*pl*) et male praeconsiliáta sunt, Páter (*pl*); dico male praeconsiliáta per íllos (*pl*) qui tália èxpressérunt (*v*), nam vestrae literae discretius et consúltius claùsulátae (*v*) nihil de tálibus còntinébant (*v*).'

Lastly, as specimen of a letter written in a secretarial capacity we may take the first twenty lines of *Epist.* i (to the Cardinal Niccolò da Prato):

'Praeceptis salutáribus móniti (*t*[3]) et Apostolica Pietáte rogáti (*pl*), sacrae vocis contéxtui quèm misístis (*v*), post cara nobis consília, rèspondémus (*v*). Et si negligéntiae sóntes (*pl*[4]) aut ignáviae cènserémur (*v*) ob iniúriam tàrditátis (*v*), cítra iudícium (*t*) discretio sancta véstra praepónderet (*t*); et quantis qualibusque consíliis èt respónsis (*v*), observata sinceritáte consórtii (*t*), nóstra fratérnitas (*t*) decenter procedéndo indígeat (*t*), et examinátis quae tángimus (*t*), ubi forte contra débitam cèleritátem (*v*[2]) defecísse despícimur (*t*), ut affluentia vestrae Benignitatis indúlgeat dèprecámur (*v*).

Ceu fílii nòn ingráti (*v*) literas igitur piae Paternitátis aspéximus (*t*), quae totius nostri desiderii personántes exórdia (*t*), súbito mèntes nóstras (*v*) subito tanta laetítia

pèrfudérunt (*v*), quantam némo valéret (*pl*) seu verbo seu cogitatióne metíri (*pl*).'

The same test applied to any of the other letters, with the exception of the argumentative and expository portions of *Epist.* x (to Can Grande), will be found to give similar results.

Compound Clausulae.

A striking feature of the *cursus* as employed by Dante in the *Epistolae*, which, however, is not peculiar to Dante nor to the *Epistolae*, though it is strongly marked in the latter, is the frequent use of what may be termed combined or compound clausulae, that is to say, clausulae in which two or more of the recognized *cursus* formulae are used in combination; as, for example, 'rábies ìnopína turgéscet' (vii. 128–9), which is a combination of the *velox*, 'rábies ìnopína', with the *planus*, '(ino)pína turgéscet' (*v*+*pl*); or, 'róvus agrícola Ròmanórum' (v. 82), which is a combination of the *tardus*, 'róvus agrícola', with the *velox*, '(a)grícola Ròmanórum' (*t*+*v*); or, '(quid tam) séra morétur segníties àdmirámur' (vii. 47–8), which is a combination of the *planus*, 'séra morétur', with the *tardus*, '(mo)rétur segníties', and of this again with the *velox*, '(seg)níties àdmirámur' (*pl*+*t*+*v*); or, 'víduam èt desértam lugére compéllimur' (viii. 29–30), which is a combination of the *velox*, 'víduam èt desértam', with the *planus*, '(de)sértam lugére', and of this with the *tardus*, '(lu)gére compéllimur' (*v*+*pl*+*t*); and so on.

If we examine the specimen passages above quoted from this point of view we shall find in the first (from *Epist.* vii) eight instances; namely in l. 2: 'nóbis est pácis heréditas' (*pl*+*t*); ll. 9–10: 'ímpie dènudávit invítos' (*v*+*pl*); l. 13: 'saévi tyránni dispérderet' (*pl*+*t*); l. 14: 'nóstra iustítia rèformáret' (*t*+*v*); l. 15: 'Caésaris èt Augústi succéssor' (*v*+*pl*); l. 17: 'sígna Tarpéïa rètulísti' (*t*+*v*); ll. 18–19: '(lacryma)rúmque dilúvia dèsiérunt' (*t*+*v*); ll. 20–1: 'saéculi mèlióris effúlsit' (*v*+*pl*); in the second (from *Epist.* ix) seven instances; in l. 3: 'cúrae sit vóbis et ánimo' (*pl*+*t*); ll. 6–7: 'éxules

ìnveníre amícos contíngit' (*v*+*pl*+*pl*); l. 11: 'ánte iudícium vèntilétur' (*t*+*v*); ll. 13–14: 'véstri meíque nepótis' (*pl*+*pl*); ll. 14–15: '(ali)órum quamplúrium àmicórum' (*t*+*v*); ll. 18–19: 'cértam pecúniae quàntitátem' (*t*+*v*); ll. 25–6: 'níhil de tálibus còntinébant' (*t*+*v*); and in the third (from *Epist.* i) eight instances; in l. 2: '(Apos)tólica Pìetáte rogáti' (*v*+*pl*); ll. 2–3: 'vócis contéxtui quèm misístis (*t*+*v*); ll. 3–4: 'nóbis consília rèspondémus' (*t*+*v*); ll. 6–7: '(dis)crétio sàncta véstra praepónderet' (*v*+*t*); ll. 7–8: '(quali)búsque consíliis èt respónsis' (*t*+*v*); ll. 13–14: '(benigni)tátis indúlgeat dèprecámur' (*t*+*v*); l. 17: '(desi)dérii pèrsonántes exórdia' (*v*+*t*); ll. 18–19: 'tánta laetítia pèrfudérunt' (*t*+*v*).

Examples of similar compound clausulae may be noted occasionally in Dante's other prose works; thus in the *De Monarchia*, i. 1, l. 8: 'públicis dòcuméntis imbútus' (*v*+*pl*); i. 1, ll. 27–8: '(veri)tátes occúltas et útiles' (*pl*+*t*); i. 13, l. 22: 'víta et móribus ìnformári' (*t*+*v*); ii. 4, ll. 48–50: '(scrip)tóres illústres concórditer còntestántur' (*pl*+*t*+*v*); ii. 6, ll. 13–14: 'síbi adscívit impérii dìgnitátem' (*pl*+*t*+*v*), &c.; so in the *De Vulgari Eloquentia*, i. 1, ll. 33–4: '(regu)lámur et dòctrinámur in ílla' (*v*+*pl*); ii. 3, l. 3: (sol)lícite vèstigáre conémur' (*v*+*pl*); ii. 6, l. 89: '(constructi)óne plebéscere dèsuétos' (*t*+*v*); i. 1, ll. 16–17: '(potio)náre possímus dulcíssimum hỳdroméllum' (*pl*+*t*+*v*); i. 9, ll. 106–7: '(lo)córum divérsitas fàcit ésse divérsos' (*t*+*v*+*pl*); and in the *Quaestio de Aqua et Terra*, Proem, ll. 4–5: '(prin)cípium vèritátis et lúmen' (*v*+*pl*); § 24, ll. 8–9: 'nímia càritáte ardéntes' (*v*+*pl*); § 24, l. 9: '(ali)órum rogámina nòn admíttunt' (*t*+*v*).[1]

[1] This usage, in connexion with which Parodi uses the terms 'intrecciare' and 'incatenatura' (*Bull. Soc. Dant. Ital.*, N.S. xix. 258, 274), is analogous to, and probably, as Professor A. C. Clark has suggested to me, a development from, the 'constructive rhythm' (i. e. the rhythm which pervades the whole sentence—'durchgehende Rhythmus', as Zielinski terms it) of the 'prosa numerosa' of Cicero. In a review of Zielinski's 'Der constructive Rhythmus in Cicero's Reden', in the *Classical Review* for Feb. 1916 (pp. 22–6), Professor Clark writes: 'While rhythm pervades the

Taking into account only those compound clausulae the members of which consist of the normal forms of *planus*, *tardus*, and *velox*, and leaving out of consideration those into whose composition one or other of the various alternative or secondary forms enters, we find the following types (divided into two classes, according as they are composed of two, or three, members) represented in Dante's *Epistolae*:

A. Clausulae composed of two members.

i. With *planus* final.

(*pl*+*pl*), as:

'équis armísque vacántem' (ii. 51–2).

'paúci cum flétu cernétis' (vi. 121–2).

(*v*+*pl*), as:

'ímpia rètinére molítur' (ii. 54).

'mérito trèpidátis advéntum' (v. 57–8).

ii. With *tardus* final.

(*pl*+*t*), as:

'méum ligávit arbítrium' (iv (iii). 33–4).

'iúra tutánda impérii' (vii. 51).

(*v*+*t*), as:

'gaúdium èxpectátum vidébimus' (v. 8–9).

'íterum iàm puníta barbáries' (vi. 169).

whole sentence, there are certain places at which it becomes more manifest. These are the pauses . . . at the end of the *κόμμα* (Lat. *incisum*), of the *κῶλον* (Lat. *membrum*), and of the *περίοδος* (Lat. *ambitus*, &c.). At each pause the speaker punctuates by a rhythm. There is thus a close connexion between rhythm and the articulation of the sentence. . . . Quintilian uses clausula of the *κῶλα* as well as of the period. We are wont to use the word of the period only. There is no reason why it should not be extended to the smaller divisions of the sentence. If so, we may speak of the clausula of the period, the clausula of the *κῶλον*, and the clausula of the *κόμμα*. . . . The difference between these clausulae is one of quantity, not of kind. . . . The end of the sentence is the place for tune; in the *κῶλα* discordant notes are permissible. It follows that in the *κόμματα* the measure will be harsher still. Zielinski puts the point well when he compares the final *numeri* to "cream", those of the major divisions in the sentence to the ordinary "milk" of commerce, and those of the minor to "skimmed milk"' (pp. 23–4).

iii. With *velox* final.

(*t*+*v*), as:

'vítae princípium ìmpetívit' (vii. 120–1).

'díra cupídine cònflagrántes' (viii. 187).

B. Clausulae composed of three members.

i. With *planus* final.

(*pl*+*pl*+*pl*), as:

'(splen)déscit ab órtu Auróram demónstrans' (v. 3–4).

'lácte ac mélle manántem perdúcens' (v. 21–2).

(*v*+*pl*+*pl*), as:

'lúere dèstinátos vidére pigébit' (vi. 114).

'pótero spèculári ubíque sub coélo' (ix. 49).

(*t*+*v*+*pl*), as:

'(pro)pínqua ut ádsolet fùribúnda defléctat' (vii. 34–5).

'súis erróribus òbviáre tenémur' (x. 49–50).

ii. With *tardus* final.

(*pl*+*pl*+*t*), as:

'Déum quaerébant ut fínem et óptimum' (viii. 120).

'fámae Dantísque honóri non déroget' (ix. 42–3).

(*v*+*pl*+*t*), as:

'(inexpugna)bílibus àrguméntis instrúcta praenúntians' (vi. 116–17).

'víduam èt desértam lugére compéllimur' (viii. 29–30).

(*t*+*v*+*t*), as:

'síbi et Caésari ùnivérsa distríbuens' (v. 152).

'(nunc Pi)rénen, nunc Caúcason, nùnc Atlánta supérvolans' (vi. 82–3).

iii. With *velox* final.

(*pl*+*t*+*v*), as:

'vélut ignári decípere vòsmetípsos (v. 110–11).

'(quum cer)vícem Cremónae defléxeris còntumácis' (vii. 126–7).

(*v*+*t*+*v*), as:

'(im)pério rès humánas dispósuit gùbernándas' (vi. 4–5).

'(vota) Caésaris èt Augústae felíciter àdimplébat' (vii***. 6–7).

Instances of compound clausulae of the first class, those

composed of two members, of which there are five types, are naturally far more numerous than those of the second, composed of three members. The type which occurs most frequently in the *Epistolae* is $(t+v)$, of which I have noted 77 instances; next comes $(v+pl)$, with 73 instances; then $(pl+t)$, with 49; $(v+t)$, with 48; and $(pl+pl)$, with 36. Of the eight types comprised in the second class, none occurs more than half a dozen times, nor less than twice; that of most frequent occurrence being $(pl+pl+t)$, that of the least frequent $(v+pl+t)$.

If the *cursus medius* (m), and secondary forms, be taken into consideration the number of types will be very largely increased. Of two-member clausulae of this description I have noted among those of most frequent occurrence $(m+v)$ and (pl^2+pl), with upwards of 50 instances each; and (pl^2+t), with upwards of 30. Examples of the first $(m+v)$ are: 'nýmphis áliis dèrelíctis' (iii (iv). 46–7); 'Paúlus géntium praèdicátor' (viii. 25); of the second (pl^2+pl): 'pácis amatóres et iústi' (i. 55); 'flúctus Amphitrítis attíngens' (vii. 58–9); and of the third (pl^2+t): 'pium deseréntes impérium' (vi. 50–1); 'régem aspernáta legítimum' (vii. 167–8).

Of three-member clausulae of the same description the most frequent is (pl^4+pl^2+pl), with eight instances, as: 'mária quóndam transvolándo despéxit' (vi. 84–5); 'Tíberi túo criminósa potátur' (vii. 139–40); next come, with seven instances each, $(v+pl^2+pl)$, as: '(spon)tánea èt sincéra voluntáte subímus' (i. 56–7); '(sine) ómnium dètriménto interíre non pótest' (vi. 45–6); and $(m+v+pl)$, as: 'últra médium praèmiándo se fígit' (v. 41–2); 'véstris ánimis ìnfigénda supérsunt' (vi. 179); then, with five instances each, (pl^4+pl+t), as: 'líberum méum ligávit arbítrium' (iv (iii). 33); 'fúlguris ínstar descéndens affúerit' (v. 53–4); $(pl+pl^2+t)$, as: 'ábsit a víro praedicánte iustítiam' (ix. 36–7); 'étsi divínis comprobátur elógiis' (vi. 8–9); $(m+v+t)$, as: '(se)véri iúdicis àdventánte iudício' (vi. 24); 'méntis áciem pènetrándo dulcéscerent' (vii*. 3–4); and $(pl+m+v)$, as: 'vélut a pátre fíliis mìnistrántur' (iii (iv). 54–5); 'coéli et térrae Dóminus òrdinávit' (v. 164–5).[1]

[1] It may be mentioned here that occasional instances occur in

Simple Clausulae.

Of the simple clausulae, *planus*, *tardus*, and *velox*, in their normal forms, *velox* is of the most frequent occurrence in the *Epistolae*, the number of instances being 205; *tardus* coming next with 198; and *planus* last with 163. In combination, as final member in compound clausulae, *planus* comes first with 213 instances, then *tardus* with 196, and *velox* with 172; the totals in each case, single and in combination, being *tardus* 394, *velox* 377, and *planus* 376.

Dante's uses of the *velox*.

Some of Dante's uses of the *velox* are deserving of attention. For the alliterative *velox*, employed generally as it would appear with a view to emphasis, he shows a marked predilection. Of these I have noted some twenty instances in the *Epistolae*; e. g. '(in)dúlgeat dèprecámur' (i. 13); '(tam) débite quàm devóte' (i. 71); '(exem)plária èsse póssunt' (ii. 40); 'pócula pròpinábit' (v. 44); '(locum) córvulis òccupátum' (v. 56); '(ad) régimen rèserváti' (v. 102); 'dírimens dùo régna' (v. 151–2); 'nésciens àtque nólens' (vi. 100); 'plúrima vèstri párte' (vi. 119); '(nasci de) Vírgine vòluísset' (vii. 71); '(per)nícies nùncupátur (vii. 142); 'fúgient Phìlistéi' (vii. 182–3); 'quánta vel quàlis égo' (vii.* 6–7); 'útinam dìutúrna' (vii.* 8); 'pía et haèc priváta' (viii. 101); 'fóveat èt deféndat' (viii. 142); '(su)périus pròclamátur' (viii. 145–6); '(in) saécula saèculórum' (x. 628). With these may be classed a certain number in which the alliteration is not confined strictly within the limits of the clausula; as: 'heliotrópium hèbetáta' (v. 11–12); 'confidéntius còniugábit' (v. 84); 'delirantis Hespériae dòmitórem' (vi. 87); 'dilúvia dèsiérunt' (vii. 19); 'fidúcia cònfortátur' (vii. 78); 'postéri-

the *Epistolae* of what might be regarded as clausulae composed of four members; for example ($v+t+v+pl$), as: '(apos)tólicae mònarchíae simíliter ìnvidére non líbet' (vi. 53–4); and ($v+pl+t+v$), as: 'dígitum pròphetíae prophéta diréxerit Isaías' (vi. 185–6). But in view of the rarity of their occurrence it is probable that these and others of a like description are due rather to accident than to design.

tas praèstolátur' (vii. 96); 'cervicem Cremonae defléxeris còntumácis' (vii. 127); 'vipera versa in víscera gènitrícis' (vii. 144); 'voluntatis ídolum vènerándo' (vii. 166); cupídine cònflagrántes' (viii. 187); 'consúltius claùsulátae' (ix. 24). Similar instances of the alliterative *velox* may be noted in Dante's other prose works; e. g. in the *De Monarchia*: 'pósteris pròlabórent' (i. 1, l. 5); 'méritis mènsuránda' (ii. 3, l. 23); 'concórditer còntestántur' (ii. 4, l. 49); 'fídei fùndaméntum' (iii. 3, ll. 61–2); 'substántiae sùbsisténtis' (iii. 12, l. 48); 'a sacerdótio dèmanáret' (iii. 14, l. 39); 'cupíditas pòstergáret' (iii. 16, l. 72); in the *De Vulgari Eloquentia*: 'ad commércium cònvenírent' (i. 7, l. 51); 'excelléntius èxercébant' (i. 7, l. 60); 'várie vàriétur' (i. 9, l. 89); 'digníssima nùncupámus' (ii. 2, l. 45); 'caríssime cònservántur' (ii. 3, ll. 42, 44); 'vulgária vèntilámus' (ii. 8, l. 57); 'sýllabis sùperátam' (ii. 11, l. 43); and in the *Quaestio*: 'déstrui dèbebátur' (§ 12, l. 65); 'adaequátio quàntitátis' (§ 17, ll. 16–17).

Another characteristic to be noted in this connexion is Dante's employment of consecutive *velox*, of which more than a dozen instances occur in the *Epistolae*; e. g. 'prae títulis Ìtalórum aéreum ìllustrábat' (ii. 12); 'régiae sèmpitérnae aúlicus praèeléctus' (ii. 34–5); 'assúrgite règi véstro, íncolae Làtiáles' (v. 100); 'in córdibus èt dicéntes: Dóminum nòn habémus' (v. 112–13); 'vix Ítali ìnfelíces lácrymis mètiúntur' (vi. 18–19); 'pátriae trìumphántis gaúdia mèrerémur' (vii. 4–5); 'própriae vòluntátis ídolum vènerándo' (vii. 166–7); 'amicis ómnibus vèritátem dócuit praèferéndam' (viii. 84); 'fíliae sànguisúgae fáctae sunt tìbi núrus' (viii. 110–11); 'dulcíssimas vèritátes pótero spèculári' (ix. 48–9).

Types of *velox* used by Dante.

Though as a general rule Dante employs one or other of the three recognized forms of normal *velox*, viz. of the types: 'fácies vèritátis' (vii. 26); or, 'crédimus èt sperámus' (vii. 35); or, 'nésciens àtque nólens' (vi. 100)[1]; he on occasion allows himself the licence of substituting

[1] See above, pp. 228–9.

a dissyllable and monosyllable for the pre-caesura trisyllable; as: '(super) ástra nunc àffluénter' (ii. 7); '(de passi)óne in pàssiónem' (iii (iv). 4); 'quámvis ex òre túo' (iii (iv). 8); '(leo) fórtis de trìbu Iúda' (v. 18); 'própe est vèstra sálus' (v. 70); '(intelli)gámus et èius vélle' (v. 125)'; 'támquam per coèlos nóvos' (v. 134); '(in) fíde pro lìbertáte' (vi. 123); 'quánta vel quàlis égo' (vii*. 6–7); 'fálli vel praèpedíri' (vii**. 13); 'pía et haèc priváta' (viii. 101); 'fáctae sunt tìbi núrus' (viii. 111); '(in)vénta non àttestántur' (viii. 125–6); or of substituting two monosyllables for one of the post-caesura dissyllables in the last of the three types; as: '(implo)rántibus cùm sit Cáesar' (v. 38); 'vértitur ìn se ípsam' (v. 96); '(in con)trária prò et cóntra' (vi. 107–8); '(in) dúbium quaè sunt cérta' (vii. 33); 'fórsitan, èt quis íste' (viii. 67); or, '(primo)génitus tùus ét rex' (vii. 93); '(di)vítiae mècum nón sunt' (viii. 73).

Of the alternative or secondary forms of *velox*, namely (v^2), of the type 'cállide còniderántes', and (v^3), termed by some *cursus octosyllabicus*, of the type 'flétibus sùpplicántium',[1] Dante makes comparatively sparing use. I have noted the following instances, among others,[2] of (v^2): '(contra) débitam cèleritátem' (i. 11–12); 'príncipem praèdestinásse' (v. 117); 'grávius praècipitétur' (vi. 98); 'quás tulit càlamitátes' (vi. 122–3); 'Pháëton èxorbitástis' (viii. 46); '(accura)tíssime còlere ípsum' (viii. 153); and the following of (v^3): 'número sèd non spécie' (iii (iv). 7); 'néscio quà dulcédine' (v. 60–1); '(per) tália praècedéntia' (v. 145); 'nón modo sàpiéntia' (vi. 58); 'álteri Bàbylónii' (vi. 50); '(amari)túdinem poèniténtiae' (vi. 177); '(in) réprobum sènsum tráditur' (vii. 172); 'hínc inde còmmoránium' (viii. 59); '(of)fícium ùsurpántibus' (viii. 98); '(in)iúriam ìnferéntibus' (ix. 38).

The 'tyranny' of the *Cursus*.

A remarkable instance occurs in the *Epistolae* of what may be termed the 'tyranny' of the *cursus*—all the more

[1] See above, p. 229.

[2] I have noted about a dozen in all of (v^2), and about a score of (v^3).

remarkable in the case of Dante, who with regard to the rhymes of the *Divina Commedia* is reported to have boasted that 'never a rhyme had led him to say other than he would, but that many a time and oft he had made words say in his rhymes what they were not wont to express for other writers'.[1]

The passage in question is in *Epist.* vi. 135 ff., where Dante reminds the rebellious Florentines of the fate of Milan and Spoleto at the hands of Barbarossa: 'Sed recensete fulmina Federici prioris; et Mediolanum consulite pariter et Spoletum; quoniam ipsorum perversione simul et eversione discussa viscera vestra nimium dilatata frigescent, et corda vestra nimium ferventia contrahentur'. When first revising the text of this letter, before I had taken the *cursus* into consideration, I was inclined to think that the two verbs 'frigescent' and 'contrahentur' must have accidentally got misplaced, and I was tempted to suggest that they should be transposed, a suggestion which I found later had also occurred to Giuliani. But when I came to examine the passage afresh from the point of view of the *cursus* I was soon convinced that in the *textus receptus* we have what Dante wrote. The suggested transposition ('dilatata contrahentur' and 'ferventia frigescent') would involve a double violation of the *cursus*, which is strictly observed in the text as it stands, 'dilatáta frigéscent' giving a *planus*, and 'fervéntia còntrahéntur' ending the period with the conventional *velox*, the fifth in a sequence of six.[2] It would appear, therefore, that on this occasion Dante was driven to sacrifice propriety in order to meet the exigencies of the *cursus*.[3]

[1] The author of the *Ottimo Comento* in his comment on *Inf.* x. 85–7 says: 'Io scrittore udii dire a Dante, che mai rima nol trasse a dire altro che quello ch' avea in suo proponimento; ma ch' elli molte e spesse volte facea li vocaboli dire nelle sue rime altro che quello, ch' erano appo gli altri dicitori usati di sprimere'.

[2] Namely, 'Caésare pròrupérunt' (ll. 131–2); 'victóriam sìnt adépti' (l. 133); 'memorabíliter cònsecúti' (ll. 134–5); 'páriter èt Spolétum' (l. 137); 'fervéntia còntrahéntur' (ll. 140–1); 'vítio ìnsensáti' (l. 142).

[3] Professor A. C. Clark has drawn my attention to the somewhat

The requirements of the *cursus* doubtless also account for Dante's use in the *Epistolae* of the names 'Naso' and 'Maro' instead of 'Ovidius' and 'Virgilius'; as in *Epist.* iii (iv). 40: 'Auctoritatem véro Nasónis'[1] (*pl*); and *Epist.* vii. 23–4: 'Virginem redeuntem cum Maróne cantábant' (*pl*); as well as of 'Latialis' instead of 'Italicus' in at least one passage where it occurs, viz. in *Epist.* v. 100: 'íncolae Làtiáles'[2] (*v*).

Irregular Clausulae.

Among clausulae in the *Epistolae* which do not conform to any of the commonly accepted types the following may be noted:

i. (∿ ∼ | ∿ ∼). Paroxytone dissyllable preceded by paroxytone dissyllable (or polysyllable), the caesura falling after the second syllable of the clausula. Of this type I have noted six instances, viz. '(in lumine radi)órum éius' (v. 14–15); '(qui bibitis flu)énta éius' (v. 105); '(oblivis)cátur súi' (vi. 65); '(quia) caéci éstis'[3] (vi. 151–2); '(in) úsu éius' (vii. 4); and without caesura, '(humanae appre)hénsióni' (v. 123–4).

ii. (∿ ∼ ∼ | ∿). Monosyllable preceded by proparoxytone trisyllable (or its equivalent), the caesura falling after the third syllable of the clausula. Of this type I have noted the following three instances: '(na)túra non vúlt'

similar case of the use by Asiatic writers of *παραπληρώματα*, or words 'numero inservientia', which is referred to by Cicero in the *Orator*, § 69: 'Apud alios autem, et Asiaticos maxime, numero servientes, inculcata reperias inania quaedam verba, quasi complementa numerorum'. There can be no doubt, says Professor Clark, that the Latins frequently chose words which gave the desired rhythm, even if they were otiose, or if they were not the most appropriate to convey the particular *nuance* of sense suitable to the context.

[1] Dante no doubt could have written 'véro Ovídii' (*t*), and still have observed the *cursus*, but he avoided the cacophony by the substitution of 'Nasonis'.

[2] The printed texts read 'Italiae', but the MS. reading is 'Latiales'.

[3] Parodi suggests (*Bull. Soc. Dant. Ital.*, N.S. xix. 258) that possibly the right reading is 'quóniam caèci éstis' (*velox*).

(vi. 47–8); '(pul)sátur ad nós' (viii. 136); '(Magnifi)céntiae laús'[1] (x. 1).

iii. (⏑ ∼ ∼ | ∼ ⏑ ∼ ∼). Proparoxytone tetrasyllable (or its equivalent) preceded by proparoxytone trisyllable, the caesura falling after the third syllable of the clausula. Of this type I have noted three instances, two in *Epist.* viii, viz. 'cérnere haerésium'[2] (ll. 31–2); 'cógitant aut sómniant' (ll. 124–5); the third in *Epist.* v, 'quóniam Augústus est' (ll. 45–6). This last might be rectified by the substitution of 'quia' for 'quoniam' (the converse of the proposed rectification of vi. 151–2),[3] giving 'quía Augústus est' (*tardus*).

APPENDIX D

CORRESPONDENCES AND DIVERGENCES IN THE THREE MS. TEXTS OF *EPIST.* VII.[4]

[M. = *Cod. Marc. Lat.* xiv. 115; P. = *Cod. S. Pantaleo* 8; V. = *Cod. Vat.-Palat. Lat.* 1729.]

i. *Agreement of V. and P. against M.*

The most striking divergences of M. from V. and P. are the following: l. 7. V.P. *laten(an)ter*: M. *conlatenter*; l. 10. V.P. *super*: M. *semper*; l. 17. V.P. *tarpeia*: M. *turpia*; l. 19. V.P. *preoptatus*: M. *precipitatus*; l. 51. V.P. *tutanda*: M. *tuendi*; l. 60. V.P. *scriptum etenim nobis* (V. *uobis*) *est*: M. *scriptum est enim nobis*; l. 66. V.P. *ignis eterni flamma*: M. *ignis flamma*; l. 70. V.P. *edicto*: M. *edicit*; l. 73. V.P. *quem omnem iustitiam implere decebat*:

[1] De Santi (*op. cit.*, p. 29) makes 'laus' here a dissyllable, giving ('Magnifi)céntiae láüs' (*pl*[4]); but I can find no other instance of such use.

[2] On the possible corruption of the text here, see above, p. 129, n. 3.

[3] See above, p. 246, n. 3.

[4] See above, pp. 82–3.

M. *qui omnem iustitiam implere debebat*; l. 74. V.P. *angustissima*: M. *angusta*; l. 75. V.P. *irretiri*: M. *metiri*; l. 81. V.P. *iterum vox*: M. *igitur vos*; l. 83. V.P. *firmate*: M. *firmari*; l. 87. V.P. *iterum*: M. *omits*; l. 104. V.P. *unxitque te dominus*: M. *unxitque deus*; ll. 108–9. V.P. *non parcas*: M. *parcas minime*; l. 110. V.P. *de gente*: M. *de gente in gentem*; l. 118. V.P. *repullulante*: M. *repupulare*; l. 122. V.P. *ramorum*: M. *romanorum*; l. 123. V.P. *virulente(r) ramificent*: M. *via terre ramescent*; l. 125. V.P. *preses*: M. *qui prees*; l. 130. V.P. *flagellata*: M. *flagellum*; l. 132. V.P. *huiusmodi*: M. *huius*; V.P. *radicalis*: M. *rabies*; l. 135. V.P. *principum*: M. *principium*; l. 140. V.P. *potatur*: M. *potant*; l. 149. V.P. *fata*: M. *semper*; ll. 152–4. V.P. *luendo . . . contendit*: M. *omits*; l. 160. V.P. *illiciendo*: M. *aliciendo*; l. 161. V.P. *infatuat*: M. *insinuat*; l. 162. V.P. *ardet*: M. *omits*; l. 170. V.P. *attendat*: M. *accendit*; l. 173. V.P. *non conueniunt*: M. *etiam conueniunt*; l. 176. V.P. *altera*: M. *alta*; l. 181. V.P. *nox*: M. *nos*; l. 186. V.P. *quem ad modum*: M. *quidem ad modum*; l. 190. V.P. *recolemus*: M. *reuelemur*.

ii. *Agreement of P. and M. against V.*

The most striking instances of agreement are: P.M. *give title*: V. *omits*; l. 9. P.M. *impie*: V. *impios*; l. 36. P.M. *te dei ministrum*: V. *te ministrum*; l. 56. P.M. *in augustum*: V. *non augustum*; l. 79. P.M. *co(h)artando*: V. *cohortando*; l. 91. P.M. *regnum*: V. *regimen*; l. 105. P.M. *regem*: V. *regem super Israel*; l. 138. P.M. *recumbat*: V. *decumbat*; ll. 144–6. P.M. *hec languida pecus que gregem . . . commaculat*: V. *hec est languida pecus gregem . . . commaculans*; l. 151. P.M. *furialiter in bella vocavit*: V. *in bella furialiter provocavit*; l. 165. P.M. *assensum*: V. *ascensum*; l. 174. P.M. *iniusta*: V. *iusta*; P.M. *give colophon*: V. *omits*.

iii. *Agreement of V. and M. against P.*

The most striking instances of agreement are: l. 9. V.M. *denudauit*: P. *denudare*; l. 46. V.M. *tollit*: P. *tollis*; l. 51. V.M. *iura*: P. *uita*; l. 52. V.M. *ligurum*:

P. *ligineranj*; l. 53. V.M. *aduertens*: P. *aduerteris*; l. 86. V. *a nubis*, M. *Annubis*: P. *a nubibus*; l. 91. V.M. *regna*: P. *tellus*; l. 105. V.M. *deus*: P. *dominus*; l. 115. V.M. *reris*: P. *ueris*; l. 133. V.M. *radice . . . auulsa*: P. *radix . . . euulsa*; l. 141. V.M. *rictus*: P. *ritus*; l. 147. V. *Cinare patris*, M. *Cinere posita*: P. *amore patris*; l. 163. V.M. *procacitate*: P. *pro capacitate*; l. 167. V.M. *regem*: P. *regem suum*; ll. 179–80. V.M. *atque in lapide*: P. *at in lapidem*.

APPENDIX E

THE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE S. PANTALEO ITALIAN TRANSLATION OF *EPIST.* VII AND THE S. PANTALEO LATIN TEXT.[1]

There exist two early Italian translations of Dante's letter to the Emperor Henry VII (*Epist.* vii). The first, which was undoubtedly executed in the fourteenth century, has, so far as is known, been preserved in one MS. only (of Cent. xiv), namely *Cod. S. Pantaleo 8* in the Biblioteca Vittorio Emanuele at Rome. This translation was first printed in the *Modern Language Review*, vol. ix, pp. 335–43. The second, which at one time was attributed to Marsilio Ficino (1433—99), but which probably dates from towards the end of the fourteenth century, has been preserved in at least ten MSS. (two of which have been assigned to Cent. xiv, while the remainder belong to Cent. xv),[2] and has many times been printed.[3]

That these two translations are the work of different hands, a comparison of the text of the former with the renderings of the later version (where they differ), as

[1] See above, p. 84.

[2] See P. Wagner, *Die Echtheit der drei Kaiserbriefe Dantes im Lichte der Kritik* (Köln, 1907), pp. 10–11.

[3] See Fraticelli, *Opere minori di Dante* (Firenze, 1892), vol. iii, pp. 462–3; see also *Mod. Lang. Rev.* vii. 4–5.

given in the *apparatus criticus* of the above-mentioned article, will prove almost beyond question.[1]

The same MS. (*Cod. S. Pantaleo 8*) which contains the earlier translation contains also, following immediately after it, but transcribed by a different copyist, the Latin text of the letter (a transcript of which was printed in the *Modern Language Review*, vol. vii, pp. 208–14). How far this translation was made direct from the Latin text in the same MS. (which is the earliest of the three MSS. in which *Epist.* vii has been preserved), and how far, consequently, it can be regarded as an independent authority, is an interesting question. On the one hand, there are several remarkable coincidences, three of them involving the same blunder, which seem to point to a close relation between the two. On the other hand, there is the no less striking fact that in a large number of instances the translation is markedly at variance with the accompanying Latin text; from which it is evident that the translator cannot have been dependent upon the S. Pantaleo Latin text alone for his version, but must have had before him some other textual authority. It follows, therefore, that the Italian translation contained in this MS., which in one instance [2] offers a more correct reading than any of the extant MSS. of the Latin text, has a certain independent value of its own, as representing a text of the original which has since disappeared.

The chief coincidences between the Italian translation and the Latin text in the S. Pantaleo MS. are the following:

In the title, *al gloriosissimo et felicissimo triunfactore* [3] = *gloriosissimo atque felicissimo triumphatori* (where the

[1] It will be noted at the same time that the earlier version is, as a rule, far more correct than the later one. (See, however, Parodi, in *Bull. Soc. Dant. Ital.*, N.S. xxii. 138.)

[2] Namely in l. 56, where all three MSS. of the Latin text read *Augustum*, the translation has *strectecça*, representing *angustum*, which is undoubtedly the correct reading.

[3] Here the later translation is in agreement.

Venetian MS.[1] reads *sanctissimo triumphatori*, while in the Vatican MS.[2] the title is wanting).

In § 1, *crudelmente*[3] = *impie* (V. *impios*; M. *impie*).
sole innançi desiato[4] = *Titan preoptatus* (so V.; M. *precipitatus*).

In § 4, *la voce discesa del cielo*[5] = *vox a nubibus* (V. *a nubis*; M. *Annubis*).

In § 7, *li suoi custumi anchora intorbeano li corsi del fiume d' arno*[6]; = *sarni fluenta torrentis adhuc ritus inficiunt* (V. M. *rictus*).
nello amore del padre[7] = *in amore patris* (V. *in Cinare patris*; M. *in Cinere posita*).

It will be noted that in each of these last three passages the blunder of the S. Pantaleo Latin text (*a nubibus* for *Anubis*; *ritus* for *rictus*; and *in amore patris* for *in Cinyrae patris*) is faithfully reproduced in the translation.

The principal divergences, on the other hand, which are far more numerous than the coincidences, are as follows:

In § 1, *soperbo inimico*[8] = *inplacabilis hostis* (so V. M.).
spollio = *denudare* (a blunder for *denudavit*, the reading of V. M.).
piangeremo[9] = *deflevimus* (so V. M.).

In § 3, *le rasione* (i. e. *le ragioni*[10]) = *vita* (a blunder for *iura*, the reading of V. M.).

[1] *Cod. Marc. Lat. xiv.* (= M.). For a transcript of this text, see *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, vol. vii, pp. 433–40.

[2] *Cod. Vat.-Palat. Lat. 1729* (= V.). For a transcript of this text, see *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, vol. vii, pp. 6–12.

[3] Here again the two translations are in agreement.

[4] Here the later translation has *sole molto desiderato*, the translator having evidently read *peroptatus*.

[5] So the later translation.

[6] The later translation has *li suoi inganni avvelenano*.

[7] The later translation has *nel fuoco degli abbracciamenti del padre*.

[8] So the later translation.

[9] The later translation has *piangemo*.

[10] So the later translation.

Lombardia[1] = *ligineranj* (a blunder for *ligurum*, the reading of V. M.).

strectecça = *Augustum* (a blunder, which is common also to V. M., for *angustum*).

In § 4, *confortando* = *coartando* (a blunder for *cohortando*, the reading of V.; M. *cohartando*).

i regni deli romani = *Romanaque tellus* (V. M. *Romanaque regna*).

In § 5, *gli altri*[2] = *Latinos* (so V.; M. *Latino*).

antiguardiamo[3] = *precaveant* (so V. M.).

altri consigli[4] = *alta consilia* (so V. M.).

In § 6, *solicitamente*[5] = *instanter* (so V. M.).

vergeando[6] = *virulente* (V. *virulenter*; M. *via terre*).

In § 7, *rabbia*[7] = *sanie* (so V.; M. *fumo*).

con malvagio vageiamento[8] = *improba pro capacitate* (V. M., *improba procacitate*).

adrende (for *adtende*) = *adtendat* (so V.; M. *accendit*, for *attendit*).

convengono[9] = *non conveniunt* (so V.; M. *etiam c.*).

Here we have no less than seventeen passages where the translation exhibits a marked divergence from the S. Pantaleo Latin text; in five of which, moreover, blunders (*denudare* for *denudavit*; *vita* for *iura*; *Augustum* for *angustum*; *coartando* for *cohortando*; *pro capacitate* for *procacitate*) in the latter are corrected in the translation.

[1] So the later translation.
[2] The later translation has *i Latini*.
[3] The later translation has *guardino avanti*.
[4] The later translation has *alti c.*
[5] The later translation has *instantemente*.
[6] The later translation has *essendo verdi*.
[7] So the later translation.
[8] The later translation has *con malvagia sollecitudine*.
[9] The later translation has *non c.*

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III. *Index of Quotations* (consisting of references to passages quoted, directly or indirectly, by Dante in the *Epistolae* from classical or other authors, and from Scripture, together with a Table giving the quotations in each of the *Epistolae* in the order in which they occur).

IV. *Bibliographical and General Index* (covering the Introduction, Notes, and Appendices, and including, under *Divina Commedia*, a list of parallel passages in the *Commedia* and *Epistolae*).

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Names and references enclosed in square brackets in the body of an article, e.g. [Guido de Romena], are those which occur in the titles (not written by Dante) of *Epist.* ii, iv (iii), viii, ix. A single square bracket after a name, e.g. Bacchus], indicates that the person or place in question is alluded to only, not mentioned by name, by Dante.

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II. INDEX VERBORUM[1]

Note.—In this Index:

A. = (for *Epist.* x) *Cod. Ambrosiano C. 145. Inf.*, at Milan.
M. = (for *Epist.* vii) *Cod. Marc. Lat. xiv. 115*, at Venice; (for *Epist.* x) *Cod. Lat.* 78, at Munich.
M.[1] = (for *Epist.* x) *Cod. Magliabechiano vi. 164. A*, at Florence.
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Me. = (for *Epist.* x) *Cod. Mediceo*, at Florence.
P. = (for *Epist.* v, vii) *Cod. S. Pantaleo* 8, at Rome.
V. = (for *Epist.* v, vii) *Cod. Vat.-Palat. Lat. 1729*, at Rome; (for *Epist.* x) *Cod. Capit. 314*, at Verona.
O. = *Oxford Dante* (third ed. 1904).
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† Conjectural.

III. INDEX OF QUOTATIONS[1]

Note.—In this Index, and accompanying Table, I have checked, and in many cases supplemented, my own references by those of Dr. Moore's Tables in his *Studies in Dante*, i. 391–4. On the other hand, I have been able to make a certain number of additions to his list. Dr. Moore classified his references under three heads, in order to distinguish between direct quotations, (*a*) acknowledged, (*b*) unacknowledged, and (*c*) presumed imitations, adaptations, or allusions, more or less remote (*op. cit.* pp. 45–6). I have not thought it necessary to mark these distinctions in the present Index.

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[1] See pp. 253, 254.

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[1] The interpretation of Scripture names which is included in many MSS. of the Vulgate.

[2] By Martinus Dumiensis; but by Dante, and commonly in the Middle Ages, ascribed to Seneca.

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[1] Dante follows the arrangement of the Vulgate, in which the four books known in A. V. as First and Second of Samuel, and First and Second of Kings, are reckoned as four books of Kings (cf. *Conv.* iv. 27, l. 63; and *Mon.* iii. 6, l. 1).

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[1] By Martinus Dumiensis; but by Dante, and commonly in the Middle Ages, ascribed to Seneca.

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